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A COTTESWOLD MANOR







PAINSWICK

A
COTTESWOLD MANOR

BEING THE

History of Painswick

BY

WELBORE ST. CLAIR BADDELEY

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PREFACE

This volume has been written during leisure hours won from other labours (which have not been unhelpful to it), in the desire of recovering from the Past, of many Periods, something worthy of Local remembrance, but which may have escaped, or be in the course of escaping, it; and finally, in the hope of presenting this to those who retain and are proud of their Local History. It is none the less the writer's regret that, in spite of not ill-directed efforts, he has been unable to render the work as complete as he had wished to do. It will, however, prove not a little surprising to see what a number of important and even tragical figures have been associated with this quiet neighbourhood; including those of Earl Godwine; of the great Earl of Shrewsbury; of his ill-fated grandson, Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, whose tomb, it may be, appropriated by the remains of a later forbidding personage, Sir William Kingston, K.G., Governor of the Tower, is still to be seen in Painswick Church. In addition, Charles Brandon was once here as 'acting' Lord of the Manor; while, later, Anne Boleyn, newly a Queen, smiled through our green woodlands while hunting in the (former) Park and Longridge Wood with her terrible master, and they were accompanied by Sir John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland and father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, himself owning a moiety in this Manor. Here, also but a few years after, Thomas Cromwell took up the Lordship from Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, and had it immediately taken from him upon his attainder: and presently in his stead reigned as Lady of the Manor, Mary, Lady Kingston, who, while wife of the aforesaid Governor of the Tower of London, had given merciless evidence against her unfortunate and beautiful Royal mistress, their prisoner. Her still more ruthless step-son, Sir Anthony Kingston, succeeded her here, and left behind him a peculiarly evil fame.

Later, by three generations, crosses the beautiful scene the ill-starred (but not as yet distressed, or at all unhopeful), King Charles, and his two sons, with Prince Rupert; guests of the Manor-Lord, and their very loyal and gallant friend, Sir Ralph Dutton, the latter an almost forgotten figure, whose brief career will perhaps be found to stand out somewhat more clearly than hitherto, in relation both to this Manor, to the County, and to his King.

But, while dealing with all these princes and highly-placed personages, it has been the writer's intention not to lose sight of the free-tenants and copy-holders, and their points of interest, or of the life at Painswick itself, but rather, to let this declare itself with as little effort as possible; often, indeed, by very humble details and 'unconsidered trifles,' which, however, carry with them the names and memories of individuals, their fields and fines, as well as the fortunes or afflictions of themselves and the place, just as these ensued. Nor, while so doing, has the material been confined too severely to the Manor and town of Painswick; consequently, here and there, may be found by those who are careful to look for such things, fresh facts relating to its interesting neighbours. With regard to controversial points, the writer has been contented to leave Readers to draw their own conclusions from evidences faithfully and (he hopes) as fully as was possible recorded.

For the sources of materials, in addition to those found in the P.R.O., the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, he owes warm acknowledgments to Messrs Morton Ball, Playne and Upton, of Stroud, for permission in 1900-2 to examine such Rolls of the Manor as are in their possession; to Mr F. A. Hyett (of Painswick House) for the free use of his almost unrivalled collection of County literature as well as for looking over these pages, while passing through the Press; to J. H. Round, Esq.; to the Rev. Charles Taylor, M.A., F.S.A., etc., a high authority on Gloucestershire Feudal History, and on many other subjects; to the Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A., Vicar of Ewias Harold, to the Rev. H. R. Hanson, M.A., and to the late Rev. J. Melland Hall, M.A., Vicar of Harescombe, for the gift of various interesting local documents, and cordially-given information; to

Mr Cecil Davis, Librarian of the Free Library at Wandsworth ; and lastly, to Mr Archer-Snelling and Miss Archer, of the Lodge Farm, and to Mr and Mrs Bartlett of Ifold Farm. In addition to these, in respect of certain of the various Religious bodies in latter-day Painswick, the writer owes acknowledgments to Rev. F. W. Brown, to Mr L. Bicknell, and to William Bellows, of Gloucester.

For many of the illustrations the volume is indebted to Mr Edward T. W. Reed, of Wick Street House, to Mr Ellis Marsland, of Court-House, and, for those of the Tombs at Painswick, to Mr Max Clarke, F.R.I.B.A.



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THE MANOR¹ OF PAINSWICK.

INTRODUCTION.

To the southward, from the moor-like Rudge, if we take our stand up there, on some January afternoon, can be surveyed the purple gloom of slanting woodlands on both the near and far-away hill-sides; while white villages can be descried nestling here and there in deep green hollows. Above them, is spread a pale blue sky, upon which darker and darker masses of cloud are rolling up hurriedly out of the west, while from the winter woods of Standish arises a continuous surge of wind. Over these woods the rooks are noisily whirling. Far down eastward, set upon an opposite rise, one descries Painswick a mile away, with its crowning gray spire and aggregated gables, with certain thick woods crowding up above it to the north, toward the lofty hill that is topped with bare ridges marking the ancient camp.

The positions of camp and town are equally well chosen. For, while the camp commands the deep Vale of Severn and Tewkesbury, across to Herefordshire and Wales, Painswick is placed, like the Roman Villa near it at Ifold, on a tongue of land as though to be shielded from the severities of the north-wind. At the same time it surveys the entire valley southward to the bold upland of Minchinhampton; Stroud (which we can see), being entirely concealed from it by a deep-folding valley.

Such is the setting, not precisely the scene, that was here familiar to Briton and Roman, and to their predecessors of the Bronze Age, ere ever Saxon or Norman set foot in England: a woody place among the rolling hills where warriors fought in their tribal warfare, and where perhaps native bards occasionally

1. What is a Manor? (Fr: Mainour: L. Manerium: from manere—to abide.) It is defined as a noble fee held in chief from the King by the lord, and by the last allotted to tenants of various degrees subject to varying conditions. It may include the lord's House, messuages, arable and pasture lands, villages, woodlands, and the advowson of Church.

touched the harp and sang, as the glinting arms of the Chieftains passed before them. Many a funeral mound formerly piled upon these ridges and uplands attested and still attests the sleep of the Ancient Brave. There is one small round barrow still remaining in a wood-clearing¹ up here at Standish: others are to be found at Ebbworth and Cranham; while that of the British Kynemer, has handed on his name in Kimsbury² and there was another near the Royal William Inn, above the Portway.

Here, too, amid shaggy forests and rocky ridges have once wandered wolf and boar and red-deer (as to-day do the badger and the fox), and have prowled at night round rude homesteads where now flourish strong fields of grain, girt round with thorn hedges, or with dry walls of local stone, interrupted here and there with falling woods that summer will presently favour with flowers and abounding song-birds.

If the neighbourhood of Painswick is thus exceptionally attractive by owning those bold natural contours of hill and dale, rolling ridge and dipping combe, it is also exceptionally rich in a two-fold possession; in abundant timber and good building-stone. It is this endowment which has ultimately determined for Cotteswold its own architectural style; and this is of a character at once interesting and beautiful. The limestone of the Oolite system here lies to the mason's hand, often within a few inches of the surface; and this natural advantage has thus in turn served the Briton for the walls of his camp; the Roman for his villas and municipal buildings; the Saxon for his cottages, churches³ and towers; the Normans for their castles, churches, and bridges; and lastly, it has served the later English, with their manor-houses, mansions, farms, mills, and everything. There is one charm touching them all, and it is the Charm of Style.

What buildings, however, have been left to us by our forefathers in this region (save in neighbouring churches) are seldom to be referred to earlier date than the time of Henry VI., or the 15th century, while the mass of them, whether they be in many or single-gabled blocks, or central blocks with projecting wings

1. Broadbarrow.
2. Kempsford was likewise Kynimer's or Cunimer's ford.
3. As at Miserden.



MOOR HALL, RANDWICK, STROUD
(BEFORE RESTORATION)

(as the modern Court-House is, and as Castle Godwin, if it is ever taken in hand, ought to be),¹ — belongs to the period between Elizabeth's reign and that of George III., exemplifying Tudor 'perpendicular' style passing into the 'classic' of the Hanoverians.²

There they stand, stone-walled, displaying their sharp pyramidal gables into which are inserted successive windows diminishing in breadth of lights, — (sometimes leading to a graceful solitary oval one), — with round or hollow-moulded mullions, according to date, the whole finishing in high-pitched roofs, covered, from eaves-cornice to their ridges, with brown stone-slats. The latter are hung upon oaken pegs which sometimes outlast even iron nails. The 'slats' themselves, besides being well-nigh imperishable, afford warmth to the inner house, and give beautiful effects of weather-colouring to the outer.³ Lastly, from these roofs rise chimney-stacks which form interesting studies in themselves, being often composed of several chimneys built of dressed stone set together in diagonal clusters, yet each one separated by a thin strip of air from its neighbour, which secures at once the impression of grace, variety, and lightness, to what is really both massive and very solid. Besides, there is other attraction furnished by the varieties of gable-end, and yet another in the irregularities of the roof-lines, while the main-walls usually are pressed picturesquely out of 'plumb.'

If we turn within these quiet gray frontages adorned with labelled, diamond-paned, windows, we often find floors carried by stout rough-hewn joists resting upon stone corbels, or, we may see occasional bits of old plaster-work ceiling, modelled by hand;⁴ and, on the walls, dark cupboards, and doors, we may find panels with Stuart mouldings, *i.e.*, not set in (like those of many modern doors) with tacks and painted to caricature oak or maple,

1. Written before this house was altered for its present owner.

2. Otherwise, late English Renaissance.

3. It is worthy of note that the hexagonal stone tiles used by the Romano-British owner of the Ifold Villa are not Bisley slats, but are made of forest stone brought from over Severn. He either did not yet know of the Bisley slats or he preferred the former.

4. There are three instances still to be seen in Painswick. (1907). One in an upper room at the 'Gables': one, in a house in George Court: and the last in a small lately-restored house in New Street.

but carved in the piece. Moreover, there are sometimes found quaint stone fire-places having flattened arches and flanking figures, deep set into comfortable walls and wearing an ancestral friendly aspect: walls that have heard centuries of Cotteswold gossip and not a few good stories, both of peace and war.

These were the works, then, of the forefathers of those craftsmen (Bryan and his fellows), who fashioned the beautiful tombs in Painswick and many other Cotteswold churchyards; but for their works the modern speculators are as usual relentlessly substituting red brick, cement, Welsh slate, and Humphrey's iron, with half-seasoned woodwork, cheap glass imported from America and Germany,¹ and sickly 'moonlight' paint. Ill-names are sometimes too easily found for light offenders, but it is surely not easy to find one of fitting weight and strength wherewith to stigmatise the destroyers of county 'style.' Painswick used to guard her individuality, and became (so it is related), called, like GENOA, the 'Proud.' Let her now redouble her self-possession and self-respect, and allow no more Hospitals and red cottages, to arise to blight her borders; or coats of green paint to insult her freestone fronts. The humblest gabled stone cottage in Painswick is too full of character for vandalism of that kind.

Let us pass on, therefore, to notice other points of general interest with relation to the Manor. Owing, in no small measure, to the isolated situation of Painswick, more relics of former manorial rights than is often the case, have survived here. 'Manor Courts' are still held and 'copy-hold' tenures are found, observing the adjunctive right of 'heriot' or fine, upon either alienation or descent. As did his forebears of old, many a Painswick householder occupies his house according to the terms honestly agreed upon generations ago between some predecessor and the Lord of the Manor, whose conditions, according to established Copy of Court-Roll, the former had fully accepted. Naturally, changes of society continually wrought changes and modifications in the customs of the Estate, and it is recognised that uniformly these

1. But, to be sure, there is an increasing number of exceptions, which do honour to the growth of taste around us and witness hearty appreciation of the old style.

changes have proved to be for the benefit of the 'copy-holder,' or tenant of the Lord at Will. The healthy tendency of later civilisation with regard to law and custom, however, makes steadily for full enfranchisement, that is, for the abolition of 'copy-hold,' as being a cumbrous, and sometimes annoying, survival of a once good and natural system.*

With regard to the origin of a village on the site of Painswick,—that is to say, as to the extreme antiquity of this site as a village,—little can be declared. The distinctly British and non-Roman fortifications on the summit of the hill above it, tell nothing definite as to this point; though within them doubtless there was once a hut settlement. A yet larger settlement must have flourished at Cooper's Hill and High Brotheridge. That more than one Celtic tribe was successively strong in our neighbourhood as well as upon part of the present site of Gloucester,¹ is more than probable. Whoever could hold the place was, of necessity, strong. It is equally certain that the latest one was driven out of both these positions and subdued by Roman Invaders. These designedly appropriated (c. A.D. 50) the latter to serve for their riverine stronghold, presently (A.D. 96-8) converted into a Colonia having probably an extensive 'territorium'; while, for reasons presently to be stated, they left untouched the vacated and lofty old hill-camp. Much later on during the Roman occupation some well-to-do person (3rd century) planted a Villa at Ifold southward below it, as was done by some other at Witcombe under Cooper's Hill.

There is also ground to conclude that this occupation was not merely military, but, on this side Severn, was very markedly agricultural. Its completeness here possibly exceeded that in most parts of the land. What the Imperial Legions had captured and kept beside the Severn, was probably a strong British tribal out-post, rather than its centre. That position, called by its native owners *Caer Glou*, they converted scientifically into an important camp and Romano-British municipal centre, and called it *Glevum*. Woodchester and

1. Later on in this work we shall meet with the actual customs of Painswick in 1490 A.D. and be able to mark their history.

2. Kingsholm.

Cirencester forming an extended military triangle with Glevum, completely secured all our valleys, both main and lateral. That agriculture developed in consequence of rapid and thorough Romanization need not be questioned. The presence of the villas at Witcombe, Bisley, Ifold, and elsewhere, assures us of the fact; though there is good reason to conjecture from the lateness of these villas in date that there had been serious occasional setbacks to it. The bricks of the Roman villa, however, declare by letters R.P.G. stamped¹ in them while they were wet, that they were brought by its owner and builder from Glevum in the Vale, while the local remains of Roman buildings at Gloucester, shew that they in turn had been fashioned of material taken thither from Painswick Hill. This probably forms the earliest evidence of exchange between Painswick and Gloucester.

The Saxon Village of Wyke, then, did not (as far as we know) occupy the site of a Roman Villa, but it was situated not far from one, across a dell, and set upon another similar ridge of chosen land, actually at some 600 yards eastward of it to-day. About this village we only know that in the days of the last Saxon King, or A.D. 1050, it had become the village community of an extensive Manor, in the Hundred of Bisley, reached by Romano-British byeways from Frocester, Gloucester, and Cirencester, having several 'tumuli' or 'Barrows' (long and round) of various Neolithic, Celtic and Saxon chieftains in its neighbourhood. The Domesday Survey shews that it owned its priest in 1086; it is likely to have then had a Saxon Church, such as we see Miserden, beyond it, possessed.

Having the village,—vicus: wick: or wyke, of the 'manerium' or manor, of the lord, or Thane,—it will be asked, where was the 'Ham,' heim, or Home, of that owner? the centre, as it were, of the private estate that owned this village upon it, with its yard-lands, (geneat-lands,) its 'geburs' (villani) and 'cottiers' and 'theows,' ('servi') or bondmen? This can be answered owing to the actual survival of the term 'ham' at Ham-butts, and in former times as applied to one of the four demesne lands of the

1. The stamped bricks found at Lilley Horn field in 1835 bear T.P.F.A. and T.P.F.P., probably 'tegulae publicae.' They are now at Watercombe House. Similar ones with the additional type T.P.F.C. were found at Rodmarton, and other examples occur in Cirencester, where it is likely they were all made.

Manor, which was precisely at that spot and environing it. Fields held by tenants 'in the Ham,' or 'by Ham-thorne,' or 'near the Butts,' are always in that portion of Painswick, and in what was known as the Tithing of Edge. Here, therefore, on the north-western side of the Saxon Village must have stood the Thane's house with the earliest 'inland' or 'demesne' land in this Manor. Ifold probably followed it close; Washwell and Duddescombe in due time making up its four demesne-lands. With one exception, that of Ernisi, no Saxon Thane's name, however, has come down to us as associated with Wyke. It was left for a Norman Sheriff and Justice, Pain Fitzjohn, in Stephen's turbulent, castle-building reign, to attach his name to it; and this probably due to his having 'castellated' his Manor House near the Church: for he left no son, nor obvious other means of attaching his name to the place, which, moreover, he had acquired through his wife, Sybil, whose dowry it had formed.

Now, where the acre and half-acre strips of the agricultural village community of this hill-hamlet abruptly struck the Boundary of the Thane's demesne-land, or home-farm land, at Ham, they were termed 'Butts,' otherwise 'Abutments'; a term we find in the days of Henry VI. applied to this very spot, as indeed still it is. These strips, held in villenage, were not divided from one another by hedge or wall, but lay open to the sky and each went with a small messuage or dwelling. The holders, if successful workers, in time came to hold besides these strips portions of the Thane's own demesne land, at an annual rent, and these latter they held as free-tenants, albeit they held their own strips merely as villein-tenants. All other services and payments by the tenants—of various classes, to their lord, were defined by custom and gradually became codified into what was known as the 'Court-Roll' of the Manor: *i.e.*, a list of established conditions.

The Manor was presided over by a 'Senescallus,' or steward, who exercised jurisdiction for his lord. Under him later on was appointed a 'Præpositus,' or Bailiff, elected by the body of the tenants and responsible to the Lord for the proper cultivation of the arable lands. In Saxon days the 'Gerefa' probably summed up in his own office the functions of the later more carefully-differentiated

officers of the fully-developed manor.¹ As he was chosen by the Thane or Lord, and not by the tenants, he answers to the Steward, or Reeve of later days. (Cf. the old English Manor, C. M. Andrews, Baltimore, 1892, pp. 134-6). The Prepositus, or Bailiff, oversees the ploughing, sowing, and reaping in the manor, and exacts the proper duties and times, and he duly reports to the periodical Manor-Court, the various faults or shortcomings of the tenants. Manor-Courts, however, can be traced back no further than the 10th century; and then Courts were held, not as during latter times, in Taverns, but in the Manor-House, Court-yard, or hall of the Lord.

By the developed Manor is meant to be understood the four tithing-divisions into which we find the Manor of Painswick portioned out in and before the 15th century: namely, Strode-end: Edge or Egge; Sponbedde; and Shepescombe: the proportionate growth of which can be surmised to some extent by the fact that in c. 1700 (Rawlinson MSS., B. 323, fol. 202-5, Bodl.):

Stroud-end Tithing contained 48 families

Spoonbed	"	"	33	"	
Shepscombe	"	"	33	"	
Edge	"	"	72	"	= 186 families

as compared with, in A.D. 1495,

or, Strode-end contained 24 families

Sponebed	"	26	"	
Shepyscombe	"	28	"	
Edge	"	40	"	= 118 families ²

whereas at Domesday Survey, A.D. 1086, the total of male inhabitants amounted to but 66, with 53 teams of oxen and four mills working, of which one or two may have been hand-mills. Cranham had been already cut off from Wyke by the Conqueror and given with one villein to the Canons of Cirencester.

1. "We are unable to say to what extent these two varieties of the office of Reeve: *i.e.*, that of the great man's steward and that of the village head-man balanced or displaced one another." Vinogradoff, p. 193.

2. It is interesting from the above to note the growth of Strode-end and Edge tithing. The latter included the town of Painswick. At the same time it can be observed that Shepscombe and Sponebed, made but little progress. The conclusion is obvious that the mills on the Wick-water or Frome, have been the leading cause of the growth of Painswick and Stroud.

The only recognisable survival of Roman nomenclature remaining here is to be found in the name of 'Stroud,' or as it used to be spelled, 'Strode,' which is the same as 'Stroat,' *i.e.*, on the Roman Strata or Street (as at Stroat in Tiddenham on the road to Caerleon from Gloucester). In fact, hard-by Stroud, is Stratford, once the ford on the Wick Street, a road which connected Frocester and Woodchester, and all this valley district with Gloucester. In the early XV. c. the southern portion was known as Caldrich Street. At Ifold we have a field called the 'Styrt,' *i.e.*, Street.

As to the peculiar yarn and woollen cloth, which in time so enriched Painswick from her numerous mills, the earliest mentions known to the writer date back to the year 1440. "Item delivered John Mowers half a 'decen' of Wyke yeyrne the price xv. pence." "To Gregory of Wyttecombe for 1 li. of blewe threed xiii. pence." "Item, to Thomas Kemys III. yardes and ½ of grene cloth, price the yard vis. 8d." "Item, to Thomas Wymon ffor wollon cloth iiis." "Item to William Michell for 1 lib: Hemps: iiii d." They also sold their products to foreign buyers: "Item to Delahaye to II. stakys of wollen clops xd." "Item to Thomas Smyth at Albyn-gate (Washwell) II. yardes and ½ quarter of Redde² Clothe for the yarde at vs., xis. iiii d." "Item, Margaret Morgan for 1 Apron. ixd."

Such humble items will perhaps serve to remind us of the excellence of English-raised wool in those days when Spanish laws sternly forbade its adulteration, and when the wages of the shepherd were high,—sometimes as high as £1 4s. p.a. Indeed, in the times of Henry VI., our woollen cloths of various colours had already secured a commanding status in most of the foreign markets; and already for sixty years wool-merchants had been permitted to dress like esquires, provided they could shew possession of £500 worth of merchandise, while their occupation had become recognised as placing them socially just below the landed-proprietors. The exportation of sheep had been prohibited in 1426.

1. *Via Julia*, so-called. This point will receive fuller consideration in Chapter I.

2. For fuller particulars as to the Red stammells, *i.e.*, linen and white cloth of Painswick, see Chapter XIV. Wool was sold by the Wey=12 sacks.

Since 1362, moreover, greater security had been given to the trade by an enactment that no further subsidies should be set on wool, without the consent of Parliament. This progressive state of the trade had been largely stimulated by the violent quarrels among the Flemish guilds, which had forced many of their weavers to pass over into England and manufacture the finer cloths direct from the wool upon the spot. Cotteswold sheep as a source of riches were surely destined to raise to eminence many English families, and it is wealth derived from these which has produced our interesting churches and those earlier architectural houses which have hitherto accounted for much of the subtle charm and rare individuality of style which characterise such towns as Campden, Dursley and Painswick, and which the red brick and Welsh slate 'improver' of to-day, or the speculative inhabitant, or the ignorant landlord, in prideless indifference would so often barter away.

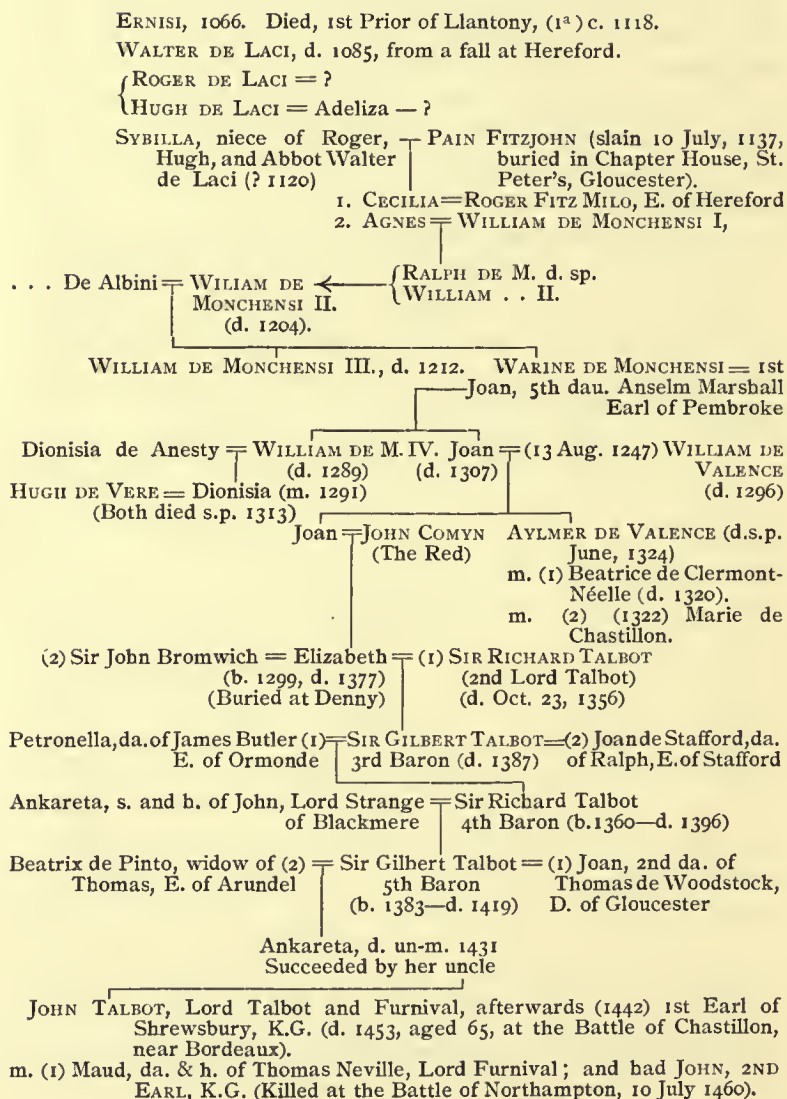
Lastly, reverting from her former pride of Trade to her position and loveliness, there is probably no season of the year unmarked by special beauties around Painswick: perhaps not an hour of most days. On a fresh May morning the sloping orchards are silvery with a rising sea of umbelliferous flowers over which apple blossom stands relieved in floating roseate clouds; while the long shadows of tall timber trees fall westward athwart the rich pastures and plough-lands. The newly-arrived swifts are seen circling high above the valley, while the familiar flap of the wood-pigeon is heard among the fir-trees that hold its annual nest. The slanting beech-woods of Pitchcombe and the Frith wear a rich russet shade—that is immediately to be transformed into brilliant emerald.

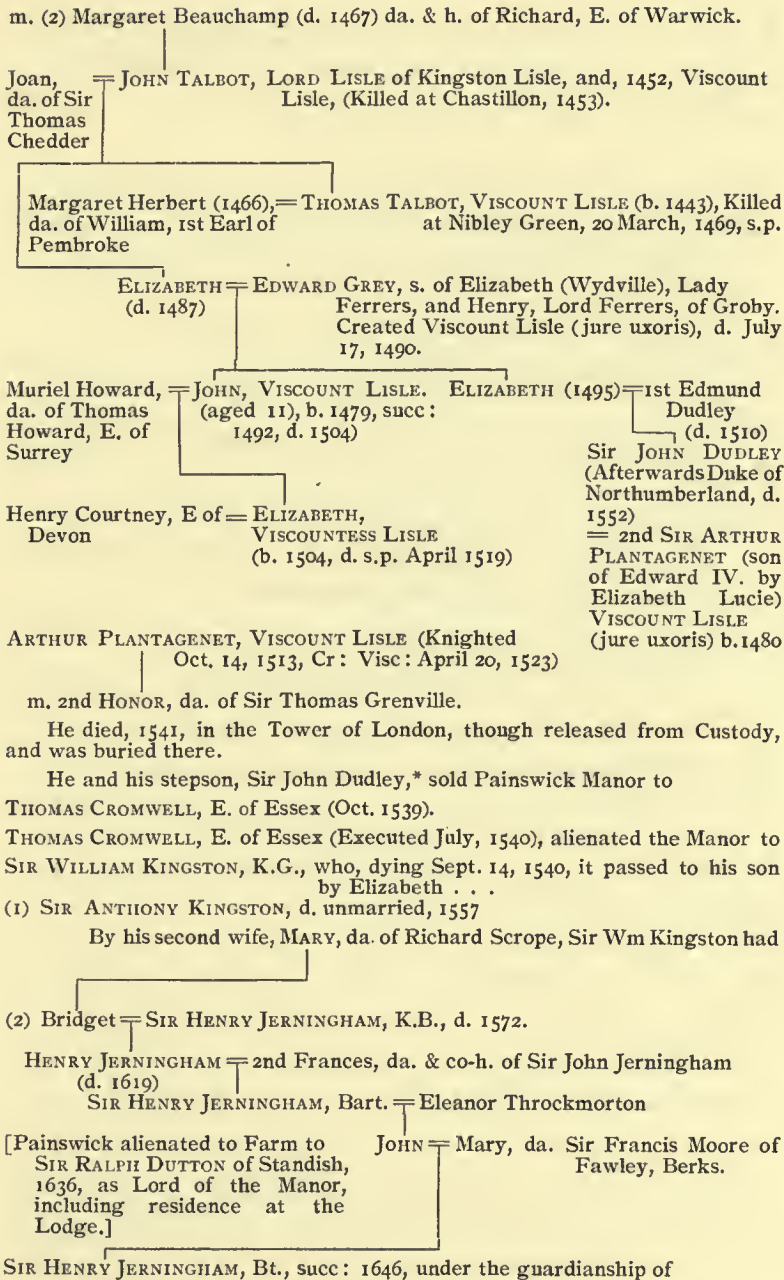
Or, one may, on the contrary, recall some bright winter afternoon, with its lowing of cows, and grunt of waggon wheels upon the frosty roads. The trees at the wayside, and the woodland mounting behind it, are sharp and brown, but here and there a few guardian Scotch firs still remain darkly green. The smaller combs are silent, and the sun has not yet reached their frost to melt it. From the beautiful hollow where Damsels Farm (once itself a small Manor with a Hall) lies with its old cedar and

wych elm, the land rises by spur and ridge to the dense Cranham Woods, spread along over the higher ground like a dark purple mantle. There stands the gray well-set little Church, and nearer, the Salt-Ridge, Ebbworth, and Shepscombe; while yet nearer, the Lodge Farm, long the residential Manor House of the lords—even since early Tudor days—is seen relieved against Long-ridge Wood. What more fascinating scene! unless it be some calm twilight enjoyed while walking along the Cheltenham road, with a gray haze hanging softly over the valley, and in front of us the great elm at Washwell with (seen dimly beside and beyond it) the spire of Painswick Church framed in upon a lower level, under its mantling boughs. But there is, if not more attractive an effect, one still more mysterious, that may be found by standing in a moonlight night in the Churchyard itself, among the multitude of trimmed yews and their centurial shadows, broken up by the pearl gray altar-tombs and their rusting railings: the dominating spire pointing up in the dark blue night into the great silence that reigns above the sacred spot where

‘the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.’

LORDS OF THE MANOR.





* Sir John Dudley was created Viscount Lisle 12 March, 1542-3.

SIR HENRY MOORE, Bt., of Fawley (who acts as Lord after Sir Ralph Dutton's death in 1646, until 1665).

SIR HENRY JERNINGHAM m. Mary, da. of Benedict Hall, Esq., of High Meadow, Glos., and d. 1680 leaving

SIR FRANCIS JERNINGHAM, Bt. = Anne da. Sir Geo. Blount, Bt.
(d. 1730)

Margaret, dau. Sir H. Bedingfield = SIR JOHN JERNINGHAM, Bt. (d. 1737)
His brother SIR GEORGE JERNINGHAM, Bt. (b. 1680) m. Mary Plowden, dau. of Francis Plowden, Esq. (died 1774).

The latter's son, SIR WILLIAM JERNINGHAM, Bt. = Francis, dau. of 11th Viscount Dillon. Sold the Manor 1802-3 to EDWARD CROOME, Esq., of Stroud.

ARMS OF DE MONCHENSI.

Argent, six Barrulets azure or Barry argt. and azure.

DE VALENCE.

Barry of ten, argent and azure, in orle, gules.

Barry of fourteen argent and azure, in orle, gules. William de V.

TALBOT.

Gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed, or.

JERNINGHAM.

Argent, three lozenge buckles, gules.

SIR HENRY WINSTON, Knt., of Standish

Per pale azure and gules a lion rampant. Argent supporting between the paws a tree eradicated vert.

DUTTON, SIR RALPH, Knt., of Standish and Painswick.

Argent, a fret, or.

ARMS seen by S. Rudder on a tomb in Painswick Church.

1. Gules, 3 bear's heads couped argent.

2. Arg: on a bend between 2 lions ramp: sable, 3 escallops of the field.

This represents Baron and Femme; EVERETT and NORTON.

ARMS OF SEAMAN.

Arg: three bars wavy, azure: over all a crescent, gules.

CHAPTER I.

BRITONS, ROMANS, SAXONS AND DANES, AND EARL GODWINE.

As might be expected in so bold a hill-region as this of Painswick, abounding with springs of water, forming valley streamlets, evidences of the prehistoric occupation of central Cotteswold are abundant. There is but one evidence of primitive civilization unrepresented hereabouts, and that is evidence relating to Palæolithic Man. The river-drifts and great caves being absent, as well as the gravels associated with them, the implements and weapons associated with these gravels, and into which elsewhere they have drifted in remote ages, are here entirely wanting. It is true that in our vicinity occur casual pockets of oolitic gravel, in one of which, at Paradise, remains¹ of a Rhinoceros (*Tichorinus*)² were found thirty years back, but there is no recorded instance of the finding of a Palæolith. This gravel occurs likewise at Witcombe and at Stroud.

With regard, however, to the Neolithic periods, the case is widely different. Flint implements and arrow-heads, knives and scrapers, with the exception of adzes and axes, are known to be found broadcast over the surface of Cotteswold; though the actual Painswick portion is not rich in them. Nevertheless, barrows or tumuli, of varieties both long, transitional and round, containing these, occur at Cranham, Buckholt, Ebbworth,³ Climperwell, the Camp, Bisley, Randwick, Standish (Broadbarrow Green), Cudhill, and at Castle Godwin. In

1. The tarsal and metatarsal, or foot bones. They were given to Mr Witchell, of Stroud.

2. The Woolly Rhinoceros.

3. The round barrow at Ebbworth was cut into in 1882. Besides some burned remains of a body, was found a circular cooking vessel of coarse clay, hand-made, having a double zone of thumb-marks about its neck, and a very slightly projecting lip. It was blacker within than without, having once contained the imperfectly cremated human remains. With these was also found a stone muller or food-pounder.

addition, the Pit-dwellings or Hut-circles (once probably surrounded by entrenchments), are well represented at Minchinhampton above Amberley; and were once possibly to be seen much nearer our midst (at Buckholt,) but there they have been ploughed out of existence. Further, the late Celtic (overlapping the Roman) Age, B.C. 400—A.D. 100, is represented by the tomb found in 1879 close to Birdlip, which contained an exquisitely enamelled mirror, a large bowl, and a dagger-haft; as well as by the contents of the round Tumulus found in 1870 near the windmill on Minchinhampton Common. Some of these objects are now in the Museum at Gloucester.

We have assurance, therefore, that several successive races of men have occupied in turn the same ground, including the Aboriginal, Goidhelic, and Brythonic peoples,* each doubtless modifying the other by subduing, and partly by absorbing, its predecessor; — the flint-civilization, with its hand-made pottery and basketry, coracles, &c., retiring gradually before the people with swords and spears of bronze, who perhaps brought, and certainly used, the potter's wheel,—ere ever the Roman crossed from Gaul bringing the fully-developed Age of Iron to these shores.

When, however, the Roman did arrive, it is certain he found the Dobuni (Brythonic people) in possession of CAER GLOU and Cotteswold, and the fiercer Silures (Celts-Iberic) occupying beyond the Severn. In earlier days, the Silures themselves more than probably had possessed the region of which the Dobuni had now become masters. Consequently the latter will have been liable to Silurian raids. An important Tribal frontier-post of the DOBUNI carefully guarded the river at CAER GLOU (Kingsholm). The Gallo-Roman soldiers, many of them, could talk nothing but Celtic dialects, and therefore could probably be

1. The blade had been an iron one.

2. We find, therefore, various Celtic water names corresponding perhaps to various tribes, in our neighbourhood, such as Avon, Frome, Wishanger: Washwell: (*i.e.*, ouse), Taw: or Tav; as in Tavy, or Tibby-well, though we sorrowfully admit that the condition of our evidence does not permit of our precisely appropriating these words and their roots to their particular dialects. Yet we may argue that the use and application of these two last to two flowing springs near to one another warrants the conclusion that these words belonged to diverse tribes of Celt. Names are as much to be considered the débris of Tribes and Races as is their pottery.

understood by the natives. Negotiations in South Britain must have been carried on in the Belgic speech, and that was not Welsh.

The simplest study of Roman Britain wherever we may undertake it, makes evident that the conqueror in his progress placed his camps in strict relation to the development of a fore-thought-out Road-System. That system was dictated for him by tactical and topographical necessities. Where it manifestly suited his designs he adopted portions of already-existing roads, and occasionally converted pre-existing camps or forts. The Celtic tribes, on the contrary, formed their camps, defensive and offensive, in relation to local or tribal warfare; one king or chieftain against another. So little unity was possible to them that Tacitus says, "It is seldom that two or three communities concur in repelling the common danger; and thus while they engage single-handed, all are subdued." (*Vita. Agric. c. 12*). Hence, while the native camps may have been closely related to one another here and there, as links in a local chain, they have seldom formed part of a wide-spreading premeditated system, nor can they be reckoned as having belonged to an organic whole.

Their camps were, therefore, subordinate tribal settlements, and places of refuge against both man and the wolf; but not 'road-guarders,' like those of the Roman. Moreover, they differ constantly in size and type, and are far from reflecting to us the presence of any uniform design or military arrangement. Further, the pre-Roman invader probably made relatively slow progress in driving forward his predecessor, just as did the post-Roman Saxon. He likewise will have taken possession of, and have adapted, that predecessor's earthworks to suit his own needs. It is, consequently, impossible to do more than hazard conjectures as to the real age and actual makers of native camps: whereas a Roman camp, with rare exceptions, is of unmistakeable rectangular design, observing variability only in size and its interior arrangements.

Thus, it falls out that there were many positions entrenched by various successive inhabitants of Britain, the tribal advantages of which did not necessarily commend themselves in the larger vision of the later and more scientific Roman invader. They lay,

either too remote from an important route, or they were likely to be rendered useless by the making of one. Often they lay too near one another, especially when situated along the indented ridge-lines of the hill-ranges. Painswick was a case in point. The Roman making westward (A.D. 43-49) and rapidly carrying all before him, operated so strongly south and north of it that, taking other elements into due consideration, we may safely conjecture that he limited himself to driving out the Dobuni from this and a number of other neighbouring camps, if indeed, they offered any serious resistance, of which we do not certainly hear. For the Dobuni having been subject to the Catuvellauni north and east of them, would have submitted as their masters had done; all, that is to say, of the tribe, except possibly one section which was sufficiently independent as to have a gold coinage of its own. These should have been in the South Cotteswold. We must bear in mind that the various tribes were under their own Princes, but had no common or Federal capital; and that Rome well knew how to turn skilfully to account their petty rivalries and antagonisms, just as she had done with their kinsfolk in Gaul.¹ Whatever was in store for her legions with regard to the more redoubtable Silures, neither the Atrebates nor the Dobuni are evidenced to have delayed her victorious arms. With much likelihood the Roman possession of Londinium, the rapid Romanizing of the Cantii, and the submission of the level country upwards toward the Humber, produced timely surrender at least as far as the Severn. Further, it is more than likely that the Silures beyond it were the hated enemies of these very Dobuni on and around our hills (differing from them in both descent and language), and that, for this reason the latter, like some other tribes, would play a watching game, and one not seriously uncompliant to the Roman invader. They would else have formed the 'fell incensed point 'twixt mighty opposites.' In any case, with Bath (Aquæ Sulis), Cirencester (Corinium) and Bourton in his possession, the Roman could, if necessary, have operated so powerfully over these hills and valleys, by driving

1. "What did not succumb to the Roman arms yielded to the Roman largess." (Mommsen.)

their inhabitants down toward the Severn and to the fiercer peoples beyond it,—whom their own camps had been made to face,—that their resistance for long would have been out of the question. But it is just possible that Roman Camps at Uleybury and at Haresfield (?) actually represent such attempted resistance. There is, however, no evidence forthcoming that these Roman Camps were made in the first century. The pottery and coins found in the latter are late, and there were serious troubles more than once in Britain during the second century about which we know no details.

The Roman General's next business it was to possess the Valley of Severn, and to secure Caer-Glou and the river, even up from its mouth. For this purpose he set his camps at Sodbury, Frocester, and perhaps Haresfield, re-made the roads, and finally, after the first century, fortified Glevum with walls of masonry. To Painswick camp he did nothing, nor to that on Cooper's Hill or at Brotheridge. They could secure no retreat; they could not assist his main design. But he could occupy them at will, if he needed so to do. Thus it comes about that out of over four dozen camps in the entire Cotteswold range, there are but five or six that can claim to have been Roman ones. Yet the Roman dominion lasted for well-nigh four hundred years.

The British stronghold at Painswick, therefore, with its magnificent ramparts and fosses, after the reduction or surrender of the surrounding neighbourhood by the invaders, does not afford any evidence of having been modified or rendered suitable for Roman military purposes. It was left by its new possessors unaltered in shape and structure, with its parapets of stone and its circular central pond or reservoir, and its two characteristic entrances, one to the Gloucester road (now nearly obliterated,) and one at the eastern flank above Castle Godwin and its water-springs. Let us now proceed to describe it.

The Camp or CASTLES consists of an elongated triangular space, having its base south-west, crowning the summit of Painswick-ridge, following the natural lines thereof, and forming a very striking object. It encloses nearly three acres of land, pitted and scored by former quarrying operations, and it stands at 929 feet above sea-level. By the country-folk it is known as 'The

Castles.²¹ The northern or Gloucester flank, has been so extensively quarried away in time past as now to be barely traceable; but the starts of its two fosses remain at the western angle, and that angle is rounded or obtuse, like the other angles of the enclosure.

The south-west flank being the best preserved portion, its sectional measurement will serve to represent those of the more damaged sides. It consists, then, of three successive ramparts including two deep ditches (*fossæ*). The first, or outermost, rampart attains a height of 9 feet above the ditch behind it. From its summit to that of No. 2 measures 63 feet. Its base covers 35 feet.

From the summit of No. 2 to that of the innermost, (or No. 1) measures 76 feet. This latter attains a height of 15-20 feet. It, moreover, possessed a dry-walled parapet 6 feet in thickness. Its companion likewise has a core of large stones, and in one place is purposely widened into a platform 30 feet wide. This, taken with the fact of the capacity of its ancient reservoir, discovers to us how exceedingly strong and permanent it was intended to be.

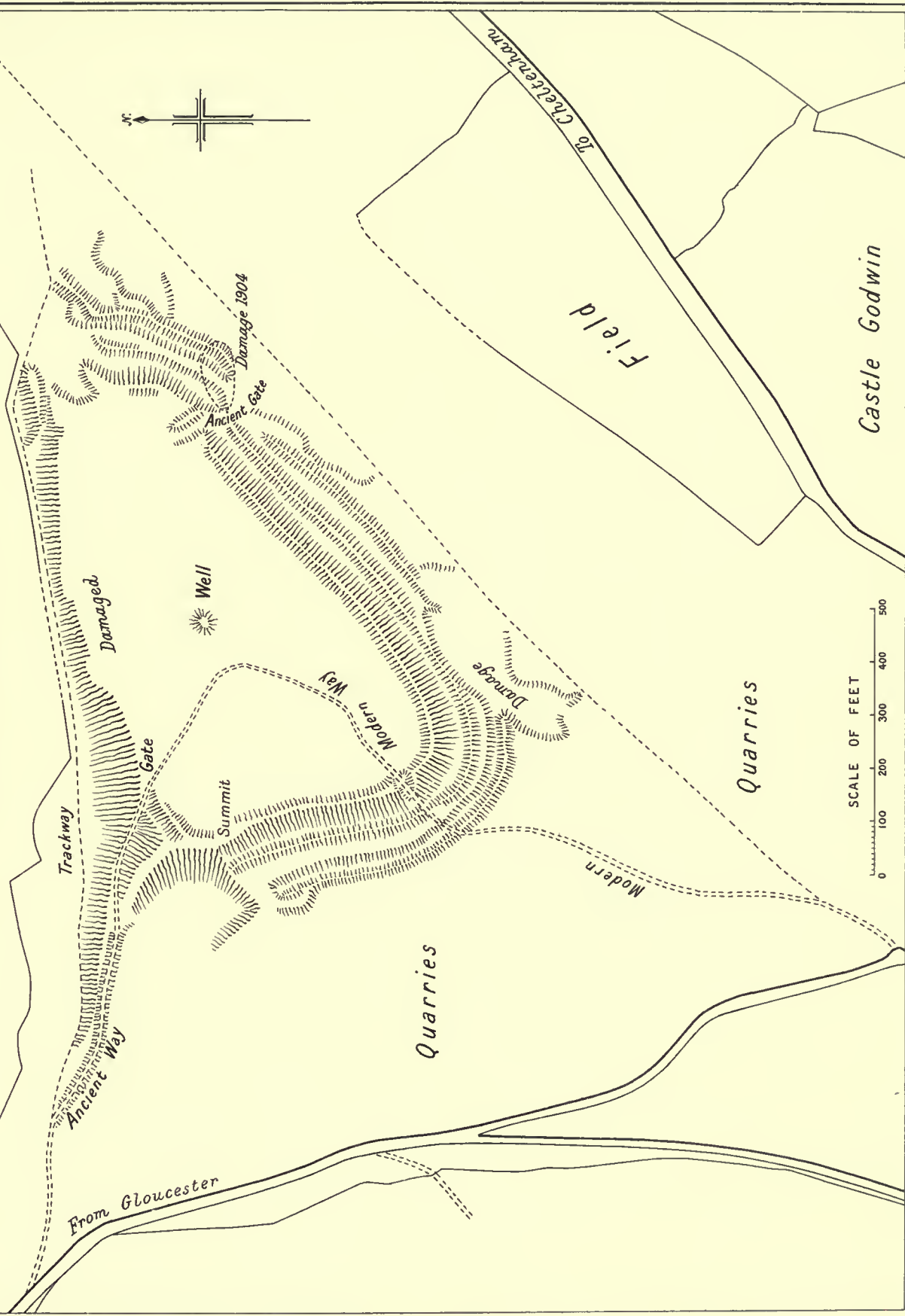
The entrance to the camp on this side is not original, but is the work of quarrymen from Painswick some two or more centuries ago, or possibly, of the soldiers during the Civil War. It bridges the two ditches and has been cut through the cores of the successive ramparts, and can be traced far into the inner area. Much of the quarrying within this has been done long since the road was made. This work, carried out on each side of its course, has left the road itself to represent a former level of the camp floor. Mounds which rise to higher levels therein consist of *débris*, and have been thrown up within, and do not represent still earlier levels.

On the eastern flank it once possessed similar features, and at the south-east occurs its principal entrance, or water-gate just above Castle Godwin, which was well preserved until May, 1906, when the writer made an apparently successful appeal to the good sense of those who were destroying it in order to mend the Stroud Road. The promise then made, to find the

1. *i.e.* the fortified place.

PAINSWICK CAMP

929 FT ABOVE SEA LEVEL.



stone elsewhere, has (he regrets to have to record) not been kept, and the destruction of this valuable point of the defences is still proceeding. The traverses, if it had any here, have recently disappeared. In form, the camp closely resembles that at Mam Tor in Derbyshire. The ancient reservoir, in good preservation (a rare feature), lies towards the centre, is circular, has owned as much as 15 feet in depth, and it ought to be carefully excavated. No early pottery whatever has been recorded as found here. A bronze spear-head, and some Roman coins were reported to have been found a hundred years back; but nothing is absolutely known about these, neither could the finding of coins prove military occupation. The few asserted coins brought in later days have invariably proved to be modern, *i.e.*, pennies of George III., or else of Jacobean date. The army of Charles I. is recorded to have passed a stormy night on the Hill, September 5th, 1643. A stiff shallow line of charcoal found some years back by quarrymen on the outer slope to the Gloucester road was thought to relate to this episode.

If, however, Painswick Hill did not offer any military advantages to the Roman (who owed to no intention of making the escarpment of these hills his frontier), it is not to be gainsaid that its agricultural and other resources met with full recognition at his hands; and it is no matter of surprise to learn that abundant evidences of Roman occupation have been forthcoming in its neighbourhood.

After having been for a short time only (? until A.D. 51) the post of the Second Legion, at the close of the first century (c.) A.D. 96, Glevum (itself, until c. A.D. 49, a systematized British stronghold—Caer Glou) became raised to the special and coveted dignity of a Colonia. The fort became a town. There were but three others in Britain, including York, Lincoln, and Colchester, and this was the sole one in the West. First, then, a Roman military post with a settled garrison had taken the position (not the site) of a Celtic Tribal-Outpost belonging to the central region of the Dobuni. Next, traders had settled for protection and business together with discharged soldiers, outside the Roman camp-gates. Thirdly, this populace under Roman administration and acquiring Roman speech, costume, and arts became organic,

and finally it was granted municipal and social privileges on the Italian model, together with an elective Senate and magistracy: all which was calculated to advance the process of Western Britain's Romanisation. At a later day, Glevum became strengthened with the walls of hewn stone (so fortunately re-discovered by the late John Bellows), and covered an area 510×435 yards.

That is to say, the town was given a Constitution framed upon the LATIN model, so that its Romano-British citizens, veterans from the Legions, enjoyed the 'Jus Italicum.' It does not follow that any of its officials were actually of Italian, far less of Roman, birth. The inscriptions in Britain prove that the Roman legions lodged here were (as might be surmised from their provenance) largely composed of Gauls, Germans, Spanish and Italians. Such *Coloniae* were established, on the one hand, as making suitable provision for time-expired soldiers and civilians; while, on the other, they were designed to become centres of control,—'bureaux' for the inoculation of the more prominent natives with Roman law, arts, manners and customs. Judging from a funeral monument now in Gloucester Museum, the citizens there wore long collared cloaks and braccæ or breeches, and cloth head-dresses. The Second Legion (*Augusta*) had, soon after the year A.D. 51, been able to leave Glevum, and establish itself (probably, though it is not yet proven) at *Venta Silurum* (*Carwent*), and moving forward into Wales under *Sextius J. Frontinus*, A.D. 73-78, had become permanently stationed at *Isca*, now *Caerleon-on-Usk*. (*Castrum Legionis*).

With Glevum as a *Colonia*, the land stretching far around it must have been converted into 'Territorium.' How far this *Territorium* of Glevum extended around it, is past determining; but the exploration of the remains of the villa at Ifold, but 900 yards from the British camp,' and rather less distance

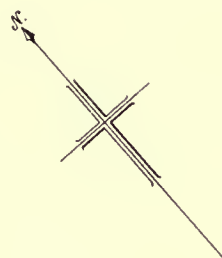
1. With regard to the entrenched positions on Cooper's Hill, I quote the following from Mr G. B. Witts:—

"In addition to the point of the Hill showing traces of fortifications, there appears to have been a very large camp extending due South in the direction of Cranham, and having an area of nearly 200 acres. The earth-works protecting this area can still be traced in Cranham Woods. They consist of two mounds with a ditch between them, and in some places the principal mound is still 15 feet above the bottom of the ditch. Commencing on the edge

-----166 Feet-----

Old Road to Buckholt

226 Feet



20 Ft.

A CAMP OF(?) GEN^L MASSEY'S 1644
IN CRANHAM WOODS
(found March, 1907.)



from the present town of Painswick, and containing Roman tiles stamped officially "R.P.G."* (Respublica Glevensium: Commonwealth of them of Glevum) proves that the owner of the villa built with tiles made there; while the various, but ill-recorded, discoveries made within the area of Gloucester, of Roman columns, capitals, and altar-stones, show that the material used came from the hill in our neighbourhood, which, indeed, has been quarried ever since, for Norman Abbey, for houses, and for the local high-roads of the 20th century. It is not impossible that the original owners of this Villa and its demesne may have been placed on the Hill in connection with the superintendence of these valuable quarries and cornlands. Doubtless, all these were included in the Territorium of GLEVUM.

Occupying what is known to be some of the richest land in the Manor, it is probable that both wheat, wool and abundant cattle were raised for the owner of Ifold Villa by his half-serf 'indigeni.' Such estates were usually bestowed as rewards for services upon Romanized native officials as well as

of the escarpment near Prinknash Park, these works run in an easterly direction for more than half-a-mile; they then cross the road leading from Birdlip to Painswick and turn to the North by Buckholt Cottage; and at this point they are particularly strong, the entrance to the enclosure being well preserved. They then continue in a northerly direction until they reach the escarpment above the Roman Villa at Witcomb.

"For nearly half-a-mile after leaving Prinknash, there is a second line consisting of a single mound and ditch, running parallel to the main work and forty yards from it.

"Due South of this large enclosure, which from its size and appearance must have been an extensive British settlement rather than a camp, was a small fortified position protecting its weakest point. This *place d'armes* is irregular in shape, having an area of about three-quarters of an acre."

If by this last he meant the five-sided little entrenched camp situated at the bifurcation of the roads respectively to Buckholt and to Cranham, with its main entrance (20 ft.) facing westward to the Portway, and its longest side flanking the Cranham, or eastward, valley, the present writer ventures to offer another opinion, namely: that this is not an ancient camp but one of the small out-garrison camps of the Civil War period, constructed to hold about 100 men, and to command the old road, which can be made out lying adjacent on its northern side, as well as the valley of Cranham and Painswick south and east of it. This would have been all the more valuable if perchance the ancient camp north of it was occupied by a battalion or more.

Archæologia, xix. p. 170.

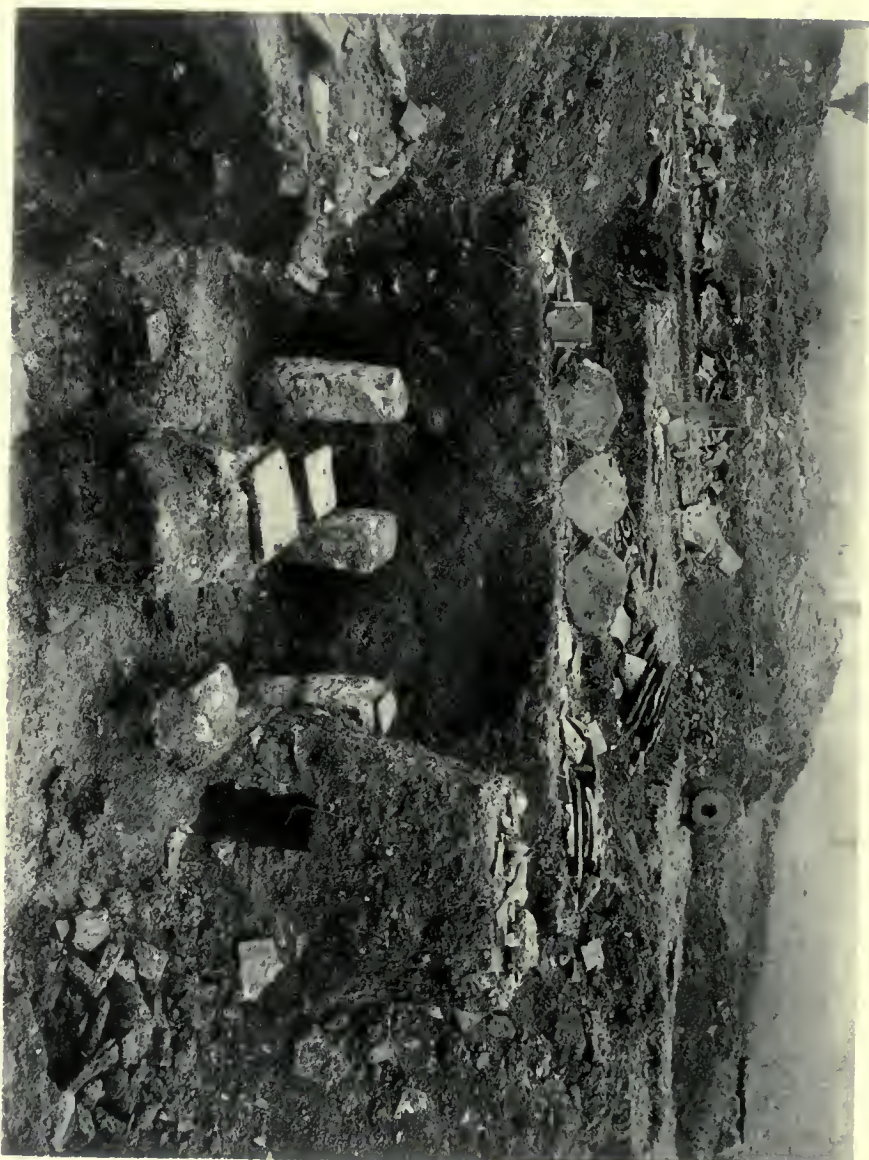
Pr. Cottes: Nat. F. Club, vi. p. 211.

Trans. B. and G. Soc. 1879-80, p. 206.

2. The first discovered example of this stamp was found in Gloucester, (February 9th, 1895), at 13 feet below the present level, upon the site of All Saints' Church. (Cf. Trans. Bl. Glr. Arch. Soc., vol. xix. p. 155).

upon veteran legionaries, and they were calculated to become active as sub-centres of civil law, husbandry and culture. For where they were, labour became organized. "The owner in the later days of the Empire had the power of a Municipal Decurio, in regard to the collection of taxes and calling up of recruits for the army, and appointment of priests. . . . Perhaps the decay of the Villa was due largely to leasing it and sub-leasing it, and to the loss of authority over labour. . . . The fourth and fifth centuries were ones of social and economic crises." (Vinogradoff, pp. 72-3). The Villa must have been connected by a track with the nearest trade-route to Glevum, and this latter lay somewhat on the line of the present Gloucester road, called in the 15th century 'Barnet Street,' being in fact a portion of the 'Wick Street,' travelling northward to the market-town. The coins found at Ifold, and at other points of the Manor, have been chiefly Roman, and rather late Roman; although one Consular coin (of uncertain provenance) has been brought to the writer, and a denarius of Augustus with the legend 'Pax Armeniæ.' The coins found in Romano-British Villas and Roman Camps are more often belonging to the later than to the earlier centuries of Imperial occupation. This does not prove alone that the particular villa in question was not an early one. For the earlier coins were finer in type, and far purer in metal than the later ones; consequently they were the better taken care of. Moreover, the later mintages, (and these were sometimes local ones), poured out floods of 'minimi' and debased denarii, to say nothing of fraudulent coins, sufficient to out-number the chances of the worn-down, but better coins of former centuries.¹ It is certain that none of the Villas in these parts survived the crushing Saxon victory over the British Kings; Kynddylan, Kynmægl and Farinmægl, at Dyrham, near Bath, in A.D. 577: yet until that late date Romano-British civilization (probably under local chieftains) and probably reverting more and more to Celtic ideas, had prevailed, it being as long as one hundred and fifty years after the departure of the re-called Legions. The finds of British gold and silver coins nearest to Painswick have

1. The better coins were probably melted up in some instances in order to spread out their superior metal over a debased new mintage.



APSIDAL HYPOCAUST, PAINSWICK VILLA, 1903

occurred at Sapperton, Gloucester and Uleybury. All these examples date from before A.D. 50.

In the Ifold Villa, orientated north—south, and situated on a descending tongue of land commanding a noble prospect down Painswick Valley as far as Rodborough and Minchinhampton, the remains seem to evidence an example of a courtyard and corridor—combined type. As it has been described in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society (vol. xxvii., pp. 156-171) a few remarks will suffice here. In a band across the one remaining wing of the Villa lie its baths; the Hypocaust and Furnace being placed north of these. Some flanged tiles found in the former were stamped as before-mentioned. Eastward a little, lay a room having a mosaic pavement not of the latest, nor of the earliest type and technique, but such as might suit with the time of Severus, say A.D. 200 and onward. The older materials of the Villa (for it evidenced later alterations here and there) were notably good; and the bricks, 'opus-signinum,' wall-mortar, and painting, were all rather above the average. Doubtless, the vanished timbering corresponded to this, for the Celts were held to be ingenious wood-workers even in Cæsar's day. The hexagonal tiles of its roof, instead of being made of Bisley slat, were all of forest-stone from the vale, contrary to the general use of the Villas on these Hills. Among the objects found were a pewter pot with a triangular band for its handle. It measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. Small pieces of window-glass: a double-handled glass decanter: iron stocks and hinge-bands, &c., were also present. Further remains of the building have been since located nearer to the Farm Buildings (1907).

The numerous Roman trade-routes (*viæ vicinales*) in this locality suggest among other things, that the fruits of the great military success at Dyrham in A.D. 577 might have been reaped by the Saxons without much difficulty, and in a short time. We know, however, that rapidity of movement was not a qualification the Teutons shared in common with their predecessors. For (just as it had taken 137 years of Saxon occupation in order to reach and capture Bath, and nearly 60 years to appropriate the 30 miles between Old Sarum and the sea), Exeter was not taken by them until A.D. 926. They therefore did not by any means make what

is called 'a clean sweep.' The old Silures and their kindred had not forgotten their cunning, for they kept the Saxons completely in check all through the Monarchy, not merely preventing Offa's invasion of Gwent, but compelling him to keep the Wye, and not the Usk, as his frontier-line. Their natural progress under these circumstances became a northward one, and the Hwiccian Saxons became established between Bath and Shropshire.

The Roman sub-roads, or *deviæ*, in the immediate neighbourhood of Painswick are as difficult to identify as perhaps the greater roads are easy. The presence of the word '*Street*,' and the less reliable '*stan*,' as in Stanway and Sarn, are our only guides, taken into cautious calculation with the depths of the lanes and with the positions, respectively, of such known Roman campsites as Woodchester, Cirencester, Frocester, Haresfield and Gloucester. Villas do not count for much, for they were seldom placed beside a road.

Perhaps the most interesting witness is *Stroud* itself. For this name is to be identified with '*Strood*,' '*Strode*,' '*Stroat*,' and '*Straet*': all of them forms of '*Street*,' the Roman '*Strata*.' This, it is well known, occurs in several combinations at many points over England, such as Stretton, Stretell, and Stratton; and here, also, to be sure, it doubly emphasizes itself by the presence beside it of Stratford, where the ancient road known as the Wick Street in our portion of it crosses the Wick-stream or Frome. Every other house there bears the word in diverse application, as Stratford Court, Stratford Lodge, &c. Stroud Green occurs on another Romano-British road a few miles west towards *Stan*-dish, and coming from *Stone*-house: while the other form *Strood* occurs in a Roman road in Kent: on another in the Isle of Wight: and finally at *Stroat* near Tidenham, across the Severn. It is possible that the Gloucestershire accentuation is responsible for the present form of the word Stroud: for, in

1. Strood in Kent stands across the Medway from Roman Rochester, upon the Watling Street. Denstroude (3 m. N.W. Canterbury,) is situate in a Dene, through which runs a road connecting Whitstable with the Watling Street. Stroud Park at Herne is on the Roman road from Reculvers (Regulbium). '*The Strood*,' near West Mersea in Essex, is a road or street, beside the sea-board, and which is continued across a creek to the mainland again. The Custodian was called the '*Strood-keeper*.' A large Roman '*statio*' stood near it. The Isle of Wight has its Stroud Green next a spot marked Chale Street, an ancient road leading from Carisbrook.

the Manor Rolls and in other documents of older days it is almost invariably spelled 'Strode.'

In order to pass up and utilise the fertile valley of Painswick, the 'Street' rose gradually to Brownshill. It then continued onwards, much as the road now runs, turning and dropping, and mounting by Steppingstone Lane to the present site of Painswick, at the further or northern side of which site it was joined by another track, (possibly as ancient), coming from the plateau of Bisley. Hence, the Saxon village of Wyke probably grew up at the convenient junction of at least two Roman sub-roads.

Turning again to 'Stratford,' near Stroud, a bifurcation once took place in its neighbourhood also. For, from it a broad track rose up the hill towards *Standish* Park, called in later days the 'Bread-street,' which made for the Haresfield Camp. 'Brad' and 'Bread' usually are found as forms of 'Broad.' The Roman road that touched Stratford came from the main vale track-way, leading up (from the South) to Glevum (Gloucester). After Upthorpe, it takes the common name of *Green-street*. A mile north of this, and half a mile east of Coaley, it became *Silver Street*, whence it made due north for Frocester, guarded by a camp. Thence, it turned east for Leonard *Stanley*. At that point one road started northward, *via Stanley* Downton, to *Stonehouse* and so to Stroud Green (*i.e.* Green Street) and *Standish*. The other road turned eastward, *via Stanley* Marsh to Kings *Stanley*, *Stanley* Park, and so, *via Stratford* to *Strode*, or *Stroud*, to the Wick Street and Painswick Hill. It will not escape notice how many one of these names carries evidence of early road-lines, *i.e.*, paven tracks, or stone Houses, or Villas.

Yet, except the occurrence of all these names, there is nothing left us by time and agricultural operations to indicate the special character of a Roman road, or the incontrovertible Roman adoption of earlier tribal tracks. Nevertheless, the presence of several ancient 'tumuli' near Randwick and Broadbarrow tells us of a British track up there to be dated from before the 'Bread' or 'Broad' Street found its name. For these tombs are the natural accompaniments of the ancient warpath.

The other local roads leading to Gloucester that can claim antiquity owed their being, at least in part, to the rich Monasteries

possessing farms and woodlands hereabouts, which needed thoroughfares for their products. Such were probably the *Catway*¹ and *Schiringesway* at Pitchcombe, mentioned in documents of A.D. 1290. The Monks and Lords of Manors generally may be regarded as professional road-makers.

Of these mediæval roads, there remains, besides that leading along the Edge, a good example (at least a portion of it), belonging to the *Stockleyway*, making for the descent of Upton Hill, and passing in the bottom of the small coombe below Cud Hill (Coed = wood) Farm. It retains some raised cobbling, which may possibly be late Romano-British work. Beside it, however, rises a long Barrow covered with pine trees, and this suggests a still earlier origin for this track. The road that led to this from Wyke or Painswick, but as a contributory only, will have been Blakewell Lane, leading from the Saxon Ham through Holcombe and over the ridge. The Gloucester Convent of Llantony for four centuries held a considerable property in the valley between Painswick and Edge, together with Combe House, now vanished; while the Abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, farmed the land lying west of Horsepools, and all Standish, as well as Prinkenash, part of Buckholt, and Ebbworth. It is only by taking such facts into account that we can approximate to an opinion,—even then it is a conjecture rather than an opinion,—as to the earlier history of these old Cotteswold roads.

The most important or public road, dominating the entire region, was naturally the Ermin² Street, which connected Glevum and Corinium by passing on to our ridge and plateau at Broadleap, or now, Birdlip (Cf. Lepegate: Lypiatt: Pottersleap: Postlip). But that road did not originally mount the hill in the present abrupt and awkward manner. Before reaching the bottom of the ascent it turned southward of the present road across what is to-day a field. It then mounted by a bold series of zig-zags, now covered by woods. The rocky turns and returns of the exposed

1. Cat seems to have been applied to quarries or caves. Cf (Welsh) cwt = a cave, a den, or cot (Lapp) Kaate.

2. Cf. Irmin: Hermæ: or Herms = boundary pillars, bearing heads of Mercury, the travellers' guardian. Compare also Irmingarde: Irmin-trude, &c. It was considered by Grimm to have been A.S. Eormenstræt. Henry of Huntingdon calls it Erningstreet.

angles have, I think, been mistaken for the traverses of a British camp, even as the fine terraced Roman Villa at Witcombe, hardly, has been erroneously ascribed to a mere Roman posting-station. The road was altered by drastic, but unfortunately falsely-economic, repairs done in 1698,¹ when it had fallen into a desperate condition.

On the face of it, the road connecting Buckholt and Birdlip along the ridge, would be that necessary to the Abbots of Gloucester, and especially to the Priors of Cirencester, who respectively owned Prinknash and Cranham. The earlier edition of this road can be traced running beside it on the right hand. But the presence, first, of Cooper's Hill Camp, High Brotheridge intrenchments, and then of the Tumulus of Hungerfield, suggests for it also a far earlier origin. Perhaps, the earliest track at this locality, is one which leads (north of this), through the wood, direct to the entrance of the Brotheridge camp, near the escarpment.

Green Street, connecting Churchdown Hill with the foot of Cooper's Hill, near Brockworth School, *there*, became a paved, or 'Sarn'-way,² doubtless belonging to Witcombe Villa. But it is not to be forgotten that all the camps and intrenchments along the Cotteswold outer edge, above this must have been interconnected by a continuous 'track,' in days prior to the Imperial age, and belonging at least to the late Bronze period.

There is one other track of undoubted importance, probably of late Saxon date, leading from Cranham and Prinknash downhill direct to Gloucester, and (likewise with one at Pitchcombe), called 'Port-way.' This is, in fact, the old borough-road leading from the fertile valley to the 'Port,' or borough of Gloucester: its natural market-town in other days. As a direct quarry-route between Gloucester and our Hill, it must have proved invaluable. The woodland at its start evidences ages of quarrying, long since overgrown. The word Port, from the Latin Porta, a haven, became, it is surmised, applied to certain inland towns, wherein markets resembling those at the chief Harbour-towns, had become

1. Cf. Act of Parliament, 1697.

2. Cf. Sarn HELEN in Wales.

established. Thus, Gloucester was a town which had a Portman-moot, or Borough-moot, not seignorial, but presided over by a Port-Reeve.

Near its head opposite the present wall of Prinknash Park, rose the Barrow called 'Idels-barrow.' The road leading through the vale eastward toward Shepscombe, is still known as Eddels-lane; and a deed of the early 12th century (Hen. I.) in the Cartulary of the Abbey of S. Peter's informs us clearly that at Idels-barrow occurred the boundary (*i.e.*, the Portway) between the Abbey-land at Prinknash, the land of Pain FitzJohn or Painswick, and the land of Ernulph of Matesdune or Matson.

Here it is necessary to mention in passing to the Slad² Valley, a fine entrenched position, perhaps the site of a British settlement, at the crown of Longridge Wood, which has escaped previous notice, as well as that of the Ordnance Surveyors. It consists of a long and broad terrace and fosse, overlooking the old quarry in 'Cock-shoot,' and faces the north.

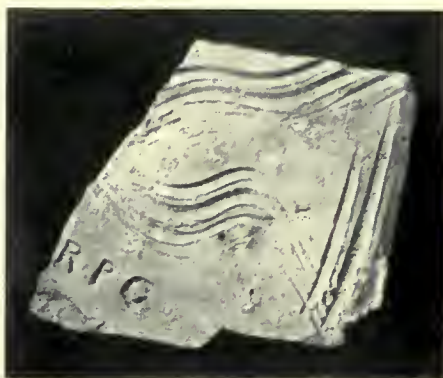
In 1799, while cutting stone in a quarry at Custom Scrubs, there, were found two or more well-preserved Roman votive reliefs or anaglyphs. The quarry in question had approached the terminal tongue of a spur overlooking the entire valley westward and known as 'Roman Tump.' Coins of the Emperors, and (in 1851) yet another votive tablet-relief, have since been discovered there, which make it certain that more is to be expected. The position is one of exceptional grandeur, having a deep-wooded combe on either hand beside it; and of itself it strongly suggests the site of a local shrine. Moreover, if there was a Romano-British one here, it in much likelihood may have succeeded a British one. (Cf. Trans: Br. and Glos. Arch: Soc. vol. xxix., pt. 1).

The first of these Reliefs, carved in the form of a pedimental niche, represents a Roman soldier full-face and full-length, in military costume, holding his spear (pilum) in his right hand; and his left hand grasps the upper rim of his oval shield, which rests upon the ground. Beside him stands a small altar on which is a horn of plenty (cornucopia). Above him to the

1. See the next section.

2. SLADE = a slope or slant: cf. SLIDE.





STAMPED ROMANO-BRITISH TILE
PAINSWICK VILLA, 1903



BUFF VASE
FROM PAINSWICK VILLA, 1903



ANAGLYPH (1)



ANAGLYPH (2) Inscribed

FOUND AT CUSTOM SCRUBS SLAD, C. 1799

right and left run the remaining letters of the dedicatory inscription DEO ROMULO AUG(USTO) VELOEPIVS DONAVIT JUVENTINUS FECIT = To the God Romulus Augustus Veleopivs gave (this) and Juventinus made (it).

Here we have then a unique dedication to the God Romulus (identified with Imperial power) by a provincial officer, probably of the 3rd Century ; and the name of the artist is given with it.

The figure standing thus under the dedication, within its stone frame, may be considered above the average of its class in point of technical execution. It measures 14 inches in height, and is habited in the typical accoutrements of the Roman warrior.

He is girt with tunica (lorica) and subucula, not descending below the knees. Around the waist is worn, with a large central buckle, the cingulum, into which is fastened on the left side the short sword, the belt seeming to pass through an invisible loop behind the sheath. Above the thick rounded head of the sword-handle is seen the 'sagum' or (plaid) crossed over the breast, and passing from the right shoulder on to the left arm over the elbow-joint, that arm being extended freely to hold in place by its rim the long ovate (damaged) shield, the central boss of which is just apparent. The opposite or right arm holds at rest an upright lance (pilum), having a peculiarly thick socket to its broad head. At the neck is worn a graceful collar of radiating metal (?) plates leading to the continuous hood, apparently all in one with the helmet, and framing round the entire visage. The helmet' (galea) is of rather an unusual form, and part of the central (plumed) crest (crista) is worn away ; but at a short distance from it, on either side arises another ridge-crest of well-rounded form, too high upon the head to belong to the hinges of the visor or the cheek-pieces. Below each of these projects a large curven ornament, like a wing, somewhat giving the effect of a volute. These lower projections may be intended for the metal neck-rim, but they are placed unwarrantably high, as high as would be on the wings on the helmet of Roma, or on that of a Gladiator. The circular knobs moreover above these can

1. Cf. the fool's cap of xiv. c.

scarcely belong to the visor.¹ The cheek-pieces are wanting. Caligæ are worn, extending to above the ankles, and ending in a thick band, as if turned over and tucked in.

Beyond the lance stands in profile an altarlet, upon which is erected a twofold cornucopia containing 'plenty,' represented by three apples (?)

We have a dedication, therefore, to Romulus, possibly as the protector of the crops, and we should consequently either expect the donor to have been at least a native of Central Italy, in spite of his barbaric name, or that he had served in the days of Maxentius (A.D. 308), to whom the revived cult of Romulus signified so much, and whose son was purposely named Romulus Augustus.

The Second relief, similar in dimensions to the first, and evidently by the same hand, presents us with another male figure, represented holding a pendent patera by its rim in his right hand above another altaret. With his left he clasps close to his body a cornucopia,² the loaded head of which reaches above his left shoulder and holds fruit. Though in some portions (particularly the right half of the figure) more damaged than its fellow, sufficient remains of the details to be described.³

The tunica here descends to rather below the knees. The caligæ (strangely omitted by Lysons) are similar in both reliefs. The right half of the body has now so lost surface that the details of the armour have vanished, nor is there left a trace of the 'cingulum' or of a sword.

From the left shoulder, and entirely covering the left breast, falls an ample military cloak or paludamentum, spread outward by the left arm and elbow clasping the "cornucopia," and descending thence in rigid (triangular) herring-bone folds as far as the base line of the skirt or tunic. There is visible a broad hem or border. The face, well-delineated, shews from a tight-fitting (? cloth) head-dress, resembling a mediæval knight's. But there is no helmet, or but a very shallow casque.

1. Cf. a bronze helmet in the British Museum, found at Guisborough, Co. York, and another from Cambridgeshire.

2. This also may have been a double one.

3. The altar, as Lysons saw it, was decorated with bands or fillets (probably spiral). Cf. *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, Vol. 2, pl. 28, Figs. 5 & 7.

In the hollowed space, rather more than midway between the head and the cornice (to left), are faint traces of a dedicatory inscription . . . 10. The *Corpus Inscriptionum*¹ gives this as MARTI. OLLVDIO. or Mars Olludius.²

The latest (or 1851) example is in the same form: but evidences another period and a poorer hand, probably of later date. It is in the excellent Museum at Cirencester. The others have been cared for, as much as the hard and fast position given them by their earlier owner permitted and permits, by Mrs Davies, at Watercombe, near Bisley; to whom and to her family the sincere acknowledgments of the present writer are due.

SECTION II.

THE SAXONS AND THE DANES.

If Lyncombe, Shepscombe, and Holcombe survive to tell us of the British, other place-names in our neighbourhood much more abundantly assure us of the completeness of Saxon occupation. Wyke, or Wic, is A.S. for village or dwelling: perhaps Latin Vicus. *Ham* is the 'home' enclosure: Butts are the abutments on certain boundaries of the demesne or Thane's land. They are mentioned here in 1429. Worth, as in Lullingworth, is an enclosed or guarded homestead. (Cf. Ebbworth: Edgworth). Bury and barrow (A.S. Beorg: Bearw) as in Kimsbury and Idelsbarrow,³ represent the funeral mounds of 'Kynemer'

1. Vol. vii. p. 31.

2. Cf. *Olus olera* = garden herbs, vegetables. (?)

3. The reader may consult Fosbrooke's "City of Gloucester," pp. 29-30, for some confusing legends about Eddel: Idel and Eddiol. His name, which has rather a real Saxon flavour (Ethel) about it, is called by some writers there cited, a British prince and a slayer of Saxons. Others name him Earl (?) of Gloucester in A.D. 461. "Earl must be here regarded as a mere translation of his British title." In Leland (*Collect.* iii. 30) the name appears as ELDOL. The A.-Saxon Chronicle does not mention such a person. William of Malmesbury is also silent about him. On the whole I am inclined to disconnect the IDEL of Idelsbury entirely from the above legendary British or Welsh hero, and to conclude that he may well have been a Saxon of later date. It would not follow necessarily that the barrow had been raised originally for him. It might have been far older, and have received him as a secondary interment. An inscription in Wales (? ix. century) for a cross records that it was made for Abbot Sampson, and for the soul of Ithel, the King: Cf., *Celtic Britain*, p. 254, J. Rhys, M.A. But the name has remained fairly common in the county, in every form of it.

and 'Æthel,' or 'Eddel,' or 'Idel.' Combe, as in Holcombe, is Saxonized British *Cwm* perhaps a hollow; Salcombe: Detcombe: Duddescomb (now Dutch-combe): Sheppescombe, (?) Sceappa's-combe, or less probably 'Sibbescombe' (A.S.) Vale of Peace. Battlescombe lies out beyond. Frith, as in 'The Frith-wood,' also from 'Fried,' peace. Probably a treaty or truce between the Saxon and Dane was made here in the 9th century. Washwell is probably Celtic (Saxonised): uisge: ouse: water: as in Lincolnshire, 'The Wash,' and Washbourne, near Toddington. It is spelled 'Wiswell' in a Roll of Henry VI. We have also here, Washbrook, and Wishanger. Ifold, (an enclosure of felled trees,) which has namesakes in Sussex and elsewhere. Standish' Stone-house: standhus: (Cf. Grenish) greenhouse (?). Cotteswold is usually regarded as Saxonised from Coit: Coed: a wood in Cymric; and M. E. Wold, a waste, or open country. If that be the fact, the same should be true of Cottesloe, Cottesmore, Cottesford, Cottesbrook and Cottesback. But compare (Welsh) cwt.: (Finn) cota: (Lapp) kaate=a cave, a den, also a cot. The apparently possessive 'es' constitutes the difficulty.

The presence of such names as Sal-combe, Salt-ridge,² Salt-box, reminds us of the neighbourhood of the great Gloucestershire Salt-way³ or suggests a local branch used for transport of that material; though, possibly, they may have referred only to a stream or well, charged with salt, 'ubi nascitur Sal,' a precious, even sacred commodity (for meat-salting for winter use,) with our forefathers; or else, perhaps, the place where salt was obtained after the Teutonic and Gallic method of pouring water upon burning wood. (Plin. 31, 7, 39). Ammianus Marcellinus (28. 5) tells us, in illustration of the value of the possession of Salt-works, that the Burgundians and Alamanni often fought for them. Such secluded woody vales as those of Cranham and Salcomb, Slad and Climperwell with many long and round Barrows along their ridges, are likely to have included sacred inclosures, moreover, to a divinity, to whom the treasure of the spot was

1. It is spelt STANEDYS in early documents (1280).

2. There is another salt-ridge near Bourton-on-the-Hill.

3. This ran from Wick (*i.e.*, Droitwich) by Hayles and Piseley (a vanished village) to Lechlade.

appropriated. There may have been sacred groves of beech and elder,¹ and priests or priestesses, with tribal festivals and offerings; but fortunately we have not to prove it. Moreover, another spelling of the name as 'Sol-ridge' brings other suggestions.

In addition to place-names, we have abundant Saxon field-names,² such as Leaze, as in Rack-leaze and Brisk-leaze, Sweet-leaze, &c., from A.S. *Leswe* = pasture: Hays, as in 'Crosshays' = haia, A.S. *Hege*. Tynning, as in 'Webbs-Hill-Tynning' = A.S. *tynan*: fence. *Isug* = a hedge-sparrow = A.S. *sugg*.

In A.D. 874, or 300 years after Ceawlin had captured Romano-British Glevum, Ceolwulf was put forward and crowned King of Mercia by the Danes; Gloucester being his chief city in the south-west. They had driven out Burhred, who took refuge in Rome. This, however, did not prevent the Danes from raiding in and around the city until it fell ripely into their hands. In May, 878, suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Alfred at Ethandun (Edington), the Danes retired upon Cirencester, having sworn a solemn peace, or "Frith," at Wedmore: which, although it saved Wessex, left the bulk of England in the possession of the pirates. In A.D. 897, the Danes endured another defeat in their stronghold at Buttingtone, near Tidenham, between the Severn and Wye.

It is to the occupation of portions of what became Gloucestershire by the Danes, not only as plunderers, but as actual settlers, during this last quarter of the 9th century, that we must ascribe the many inland place-names which bear the stamp of Scandinavian occupation. The Rev. C. S. Taylor, in his 'Danes in Gloucestershire' (vol. xvii., p. 94, *Transact. B. & Glos. Archl. Socy.*) has mentioned a dozen of these Scandinavian place-names, which I quote from his Essay: Nass Cliff; Sharpness; Dennys; Brookthorpe;³ Colthorp; Woolstroe; Hatherop; Southrop; Boutherop; Cockrup; and Williamstrip. These indeed form two small county groups.

1. Cf. Ellernhill, above Shepscombe.

2. Field names have existed from the earliest 'recorded' times, and often contain the 'abstract and brief chronicle' of ownership: as in 'the field of Macpelah,' 'Ardath,' 'Aceldama': 'the Potter's field,' &c., &c.

3. Thorpe was usually but erroneously appropriated to Scandinavian: but it is clear that the Tentonic peoples had, and have it still, in the form of 'Dorf.'

Brookthorpe is the only example in this list which touches the neighbourhood of Painswick; for Prinke-NASH is accidentally omitted; so that it might almost seem superfluous to refer to Wyke or Painswick, as having been visited by the Danes. Yet, if we look a little closer around us, our suspicions are at once roused. We find a field near the Lodge-farm still called 'Hazel-hanger';¹ another called 'Great Nash' (Ness: Naze); and there is the above Prinke-nash; while, over Shepscombe, toward Miserden, we find 'Wishanger' and Througham and, near Stroud, Thrupp: -thorpe, -ham: -thorpe; and a road in that neighbourhood is still called 'Daneway.' These, then, are probably direct evidences of a continued presence among our fields of the dreaded Northmen. But we have other evidence, still nearer to us, in Knap-Lane, Gurdingle-Knap, Dryknapp, Hillhouse Knap (=Danish, Knap=a knob)—"some high knap, or tuft, of a mountain," (Holland's Pliny, bk. xi., ch. 10); and Buckholt (*i.e.*, Beechwood.) After this we can have no doubt whatever that the Danes, while at Gloucester (just as other and earlier possessors had done), spread up steadily on to our hills and into our vales. There some of them settled and probably married Saxon folk and remained in the village of Wyke. At least they have left their distinguishing mark, and this has survived until to-day, just one thousand years in Painswick History!²

Until 1850 Painswick had its Friday-street³: named like the other Friday-streets in Surrey and Suffolk, from Freia, the Norse Goddess (Cf. Friday-thorpe in Yorkshire.) London likewise had one. Moreover, there were tenants living in the Manor in 1324, named Seagrym, a Danish name (perhaps a sea-rover) which has survived in 'Seagrims,' (*i.e.*, Ayers'—mill fields.)

1. This terminal again is not necessarily Scandinavian; but taken in combination with others we may let it pass.

2. Cf. Knapsac=headpiece.

3. In Henry VII.'s day there were two fields in Painswick called Denys and Lycchefeld: and we still have the 'Frith' (Germ. Fried) wood, which signifies that a peace was agreed to thereabouts between contending foes. It seems probable that the current tradition of a battle on the high ground of the Saltridge may be connected with this: while beyond, above Cheltenham, there is Leckhampton, (*i.e.*, Lych,) perhaps the site of another unrecorded but traditional battle.

4. It joins Bisley Street (once High Street) to St Mary's Street, not, as in "A History of the Church of St Mary," by the author, where it is stated to have occupied the present George Street. The street is now called after a mere modern public-house—so typical of the earlier Victorian age and the power of the 'Beerage.'

SECTION III.

EARL GODWINE.

There is no suggestion that the traditional local conflicts were other than those between Saxon and Dane. The Barrow called Idelsbarrow, therefore, = Ethel's-bury, was probably the tomb of a Saxon leader, who perhaps perished in one of these battles. The identification of this spot has eluded the vigilance of local antiquaries; and most, if not all, of it has been quarried away. It must have stood near the head of the Portway above Prinknash Park, probably nearer to the Royal William Inn.

Tocknell's Mill was once called Eddels Mill.¹ These localities are mentioned in a document dated A.D. 1121 in the "*Historia et Cartularium S. Petri Gloucestriæ*," (vol. I., p. 205, civ.), in which the boundaries of the lands of Helyas de Giffard (of Brimsfield) and the Abbey-lands at Prinknash, and those of Pain Fitzjohn, are defined. Those of Pain are divided off by a line from Salcombe-brook to 'Idelberge': and those of Ernulf de Mattesdune from Prinkenash to Idelberge. Hence we may conclude that Painswick and Cranham were divided by the Portway and Eddel's Lane. The latter place had in those days been separated less than half-a-century from Wyke or Painswick, and as yet it had no church. This mention is also interesting to us as tending to show that Pain Fitzjohn was married to Sybil, a niece of Walter de Laci, before A.D. 1121, for he was then enjoying Wyke as part of her dowry, held of the King in chief.

Tradition, again compressed in a name, suggests a connection of the great Saxon Earl Godwine with Painswick. (Cf. Atkins, *Hist., Glos.*) We should therefore discover what support, if any, history, so careful of the movements of great leaders, may or may not lend to this interesting notion. For, not infrequently, it is the name-presence which gives rise to the suggestion, and we cannot be too cautious in accepting local attributions, especially

1. "*Usque ad Idelberge, est quoddam molendinum (mill) ibi.*" (loc. cit. A.D. 1121.) The road opposite that point in the valley to Shepscombe is called Eddel's Lane, and passes behind the Lodge-Farm.

when they cannot be traced above a hundred years back. In this case, however, we start with much probability seeing that Sir Robert Atkins, before 1711, knew the hill by this name.

Godwine was, of course, that Earl of Wessex, whose daughter Eadgyth came to be the ill-used Queen to King Edward the Confessor. His sons were considered unworthy of him; the ill-fated King Harold being one of these. Godwine is described for us as the man who alone in his day, stood between England and the lust of the foreigners. In 1052 (Sept. 1) King Edward, his son-in-law, went to Gloucester, together with Siward, Earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and to them came Eustace, Count of Boulogne. The latter had recently repeated former acts of violence on Godwine's property at Dover, and now had fled before him to take refuge with the weak King, in his Court of Norman favourites. The angry Earl, however, desirous of capturing the Count, or of compelling the monarch (his own son-in-law) to surrender his person, sped after him westward. Together with his sons, Swegen and Harold, Godwine held a council at Langtree (Earl's Barn), near Beverstone, surrounded by his thanes and their followers, in great multitude.¹

Godwine, with his force, as a result of this conference, now determined to overawe the King at Gloucester. To do this he needed to continue his march along the Cotswolds due north from his own Beverstone, near the Fosse- and Icknield-ways, probably descending on the way by Avening to Nailsworth and Woodchester (where his Countess, Goda, possessed lands), and so, by following the Bread Street, he would reach the most convenient tactical point for overlooking Gloucester, namely, Robin's Wood² Hill. It may be, however, news of his intention outsped him, and that he found that vantage-point already occupied by Edward's men, and, in consequence, came no nearer to Gloucester than Kimsbury Hill and Camp. In that case, his movement had

1. This forms the last episode of the struggle for predominance between Leofric and Godwine. The latter died in the following April at Winchester. "The History of the reign of Edward the Confessor is little more than the variation of the balance of power between the families of Godwine and Leofric; each has his allies among the Welsh, Irish, and Scottish princes, each has his friends and refuge on the Continent." (Stubbs, Const. Hist. I. 222.)

2. Nowadays mis-called 'Robinhood's' Hill.

proved in vain, as indeed one may gather that it actually did. Compromise, and no action, followed this perilous threat of civil war.

Having been unable (we may suppose) to reach Robin's Wood Hill in time, he took up his quarters at Painswick Hill. All the leaders of both sides were summoned to the Witenagemot commanded to be held at Southwark on Sept. 21, and the Earl retired peacefully from the West for the last time.

As the time occupied by this Gloucestershire episode comprised only three weeks, it is manifest there was no time (even if there had been need) for building operations on our hill, even assuming, for working hypothesis, that the Earl came to the hill at all. But there can scarcely have arisen necessity for constructive operations, and Wyke was no Manor of Godwine's. It belonged then to Ernisi. How, then, can the Camp have gained its sobriquet of 'Castle Godwyn,' and 'the Castles'? Of course, a castle built by him would have easily fixed the Earl's name to the spot: but there is no evidence forthcoming to point the existence here of any such castle, nor, before the 18th century, of the name as applied to this Hill. But, as Mr J. Horace Round has shown, 'Castle' was formerly applied to any sort of fortified enclosure; and we need not imagine a vanished building here at all. It may be thought not difficult to explain the problem, when we realise that Earl Godwine was the Champion of Saxon England, and that he was the Earl of all the land from Herefordshire and Gloucester, south of Thames, to Dover. His army was doubtless large; it was therefore impressive to the country-folk. Moreover, the King and City of Gloucester were intended at least to have been threatened by him from some point certainly in our neighbourhood. These facts combined would have aroused excitement throughout Cotteswold: and though no fighting ensued, this critical condition of affairs might have proved sufficient to leave undying memory of itself behind, and to wed the name of Godwine with the place of his encampment.*

1. The 18th century-faced house, called 'Castle Godwin,' in the side of the Hollow toward 'Paradise,' has no doubt derived its name from the hill above it. No house of that name in the Manor, can be traced earlier than the 19th century. It was until then merely called 'Paradise' by its various owners. But some one of these (probably John George, Esq.), early in the latter century, added a castellated apside to the rear of the house and forthwith changed its name to 'Castle Godwin House.' His son, Rev. Wm. George, resided there in 1848.

But, on the other hand, the Camp is never designated by the name of 'Castle-Godwin' in early surviving documents, nor in the extant Manorial Rolls. The only mentions of the name of Godwine in these sources occur, not in reference to the great Earl, but, to humble families of copyholders, in the 13th and 18th centuries.¹ The name has, in fact, been common in the county. There was a Moneyer at Gloucester, bearing it in the days of King Cnut (Canute.) There was a Bishop Godwine. It occurs at Cirencester in 1305; and later, at Bicknor, is found a family of Godwyn, A.D. 1550. Nevertheless, Sir Robert Atkins, who was familiar with Painswick, (1711) so designates Painswick Hill in his History of the County. The house which bears the name below it did not exist, except as a cottage, in his day, it having been enlarged from a 17th century cottage about 1750, at a point standing just above a mound, or possibly a Barrow.² We must, therefore, consider the tradition (in this case) a sound one; and fully recognise it accordingly.

1. William Godwin, 1754. Peter Godwine at Buckholt, c. 1266.

2. Possibly only an outlying fortified post or tower, for guarding the water-spring hard-by for the camp above.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONFESSOR—ERNISI—THE DE LACI—PAIN FITZJOHN
EDGORTH—SAXON PAINSWICK, OR WYKE — LLAN-
TONY—SYBIL DE LACI—A CASTELLUM.

Edward the Confessor had been educated in France, an exile. His mother was Norman, and spoke the Norman tongue. His affections leaned to the people among whom he had spent his youth. He planted Norman colonies in Herefordshire and other parts of his Kingdom, and honoured his Norman favourites somewhat too freely with the great offices of State. The late Prof. Freeman is held to have judged rightly that the Norman leanings of Edward cleared the path for the coming of his cousin William. As another eminent Historian has put it—"For the last half-century England had been drawing nearer to the Norman land which fronted it across the Channel." (J. R. Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, Vol. I.)—At any rate, when his long reign of two-and-twenty years came to a close in 1064, the pressure of Norman influence was in the ascendant, and his widowed Queen favoured it. It must, therefore, be regarded as having been a period of Transition.

During the latter part of this reign, Wyke, or Wyke-ham, as Painswick was then called, was held by one Ernisi,¹ possibly a Norman, who may have inherited (as we shall see) his father's possessions. But his lands in Gloucestershire were not confined to Wyke; he owned Greenhamstead Manor (Miserden. We may recall that the doors of Miserden Church are of Saxon date), in Bisley Hundred, Selle Manor, in Salmanesbury Hundred, Estune (Aston) Manor, in the Hundred of Gretestanes, Suddintone (Siddington) Manor, in that of Cirencester, and other land, called Frantone Manor, in that of Blacelaw. It is not perhaps possible

1. The *Ervistus* of Giraldus Cambrensis.

to assert the precise extent of all this land in Ernisi's possession in the County, but thirty thousand acres would be within the mark, seeing that Wyke, or Painswick, alone included 20,760 acres. Ernisi was, therefore, Lord of Wyke, and a territorial magnate of the first order.

The estimated value of these above lands of his, was as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
At Siddington	12	0	0
" Aiford	4	0	0 (?)
" Swell	10	0	0
" Aston	6	0	0
" Wyke	20	0	0
" Greenhamstead	5	0	0
	<u>£57</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

At the date of Domesday Survey, or twenty-two years later, these values had undergone reduction in some instances, and increase in others; the value of Wyke, in particular, having increased from £20 to £24, a very notable advance, probably to be accounted for by shrinkage of the Forest into smaller extent, as well as by increased cultivation.

But at Domesday we discover an important change of owner. We find that, for some not-determined reason, Ernisi had lost or given up his various lands, and these had been parcelled out among five Feudal Norman Lords. Aston, Siddington, and Greenhamstead belonged now to Hascott Musard. *Wyke* belonged to Roger de Laci, who had then possessed it but one year. Swell belonged to William de Ow and Ralph de Toden, while Aiford had become the property of Drogo Fitz-Ponz.

As however, we find Eudo, Fitz-Ernisi, in the following century alive in 1172 (an old man for those days), and owning lands in Essex, Shropshire, Suffolk and Hertfordshire, it is evident that a son of Ernisi survived and was permitted to retain portions of the paternal possessions outside Gloucestershire, or else he had received fresh grants from the Plantagenet Kings. Moreover, another Oliver Fitz-Ernisi, received Mendone, in Essex, from William Longsword, which, afterwards, at his death, passed to Eudo. (p. 505, *Liber Rubeus*: Rolls Series).

It is clear, therefore, that Ernisi, the former owner of Wyke, had left issue. But it is also certain that he is the same who became a favoured 'Capellanus,' or Chaplain to Matilda, or Maud, Queen of Henry I., and who ultimately was elected the first Prior of the De Laci foundation of Llantony Prima in Wales. The question, therefore, arises, can anything be adduced to account for the remarkable change which manifestly had taken place in the life and fortunes of Ernisi during the reign of William the Conqueror, 1066-87, by which his possessions passed into other hands; for, there is no doubt, they had passed into those of Walter, the father of Roger de Laci, who died in 1085 by an accident at Hereford. For his services to the Conqueror, De Laci had been given an Honour consisting of 116 Manors, twenty-seven of which were in Gloucestershire.

If we turn to the 'Chronicle of Evesham,' under the years 1070-77, we shall find the following remarkable story, which, although, perhaps, little more than a story, may serve us somewhat in the nature of an answer:—

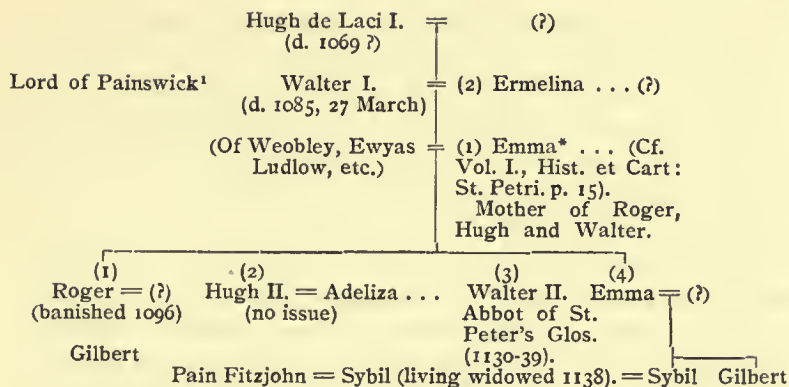
"Ernisi was the son of a noble matron, by name Alditha. Now, her brother, one Alfricus, purloined certain relics from the Shrine of St. Egwine (Bishop of Worcester) at the Abbey of Evesham. Alditha was commanded by One, who appeared to her in her sleep, to deliver up the precious objects. Cupidity however prevailed with her, and in consequence she became visited with blindness. Thereupon, she grew so terrified as to give them up. Moreover, her son Alfricus was drowned in a river. Alditha herself died, and her son Ernisi took possession of the relics; but living wildily (luxuriöse atque insipienter) he lost all that he inherited from his father." (p. 93-4).

If this incident (supposing it to have foundation in fact) occurred between the dates given, it will sufficiently account for the possession of his estates by others at Domesday. Later events, however, show that *Ernisi* reformed his life, became an important personage 'Vir nominatissimus in Curia Henrici Regis primi, inter primos Palatii,' and finally was appointed 'Capellanus Venerandæ recordationis Matildæ Reginae, uxoris eidem Henrico,' ('Chaplain to Queen Matilda (or Maud), of revered memory, wife of the same (King) Henry.' Cf. Chron: Lanton: Julius D. X.

Cotton: B.M.) and, in time, he retired from Court in company with a knight of the name of William . . . to a Hermitage beside the River Hodenay, at the foot of the Hatterel Hills. No illustrative examples are needed to assure the reader that it was a common thing in those days for a noble knight and a frequenter of Courts, even for a vicious one and a spendthrift, to turn vehemently religious, and to end his career in serene piety. The stormy reign of the Red King can show many instances not unlike that of Ernisi. 'What he taught he practised,' says his Chronicler.

We, therefore, read in a 14th Century British Museum MS. recording the origin of Llantony, the story relating how, in the 38th year after the coming of the Normans (otherwise A.D. 1103), these two, Ernisi and William, gave up the world (*i.e.*, the Court) for a dwelling in certain wilds of Wales, where, favoured by the powerful and devout Hugh de Laci, ('innato religionis amore,' 'pauperum et oppressorum misertor benignissimus,') then Lord of Wyke, Ewyas (Laci), and all other manors that had been his brother's,¹ they raised a small church on an already sacred site, in honour of St. John the Baptist, which was consecrated in 1108 by Urban, Diocesan, and Ramelin, Bishop of Hereford. We have, then, Hugh de Laci, Lord of Wyke, fraternally assisting Ernisi, a former owner of many of his own extensive manorial possessions. For, by this date, Hugh had succeeded his brother, Roger de Laci, who had been banished for twice rebelling against William Rufus (1088 and 1095) in favour of Robert, Duke of Normandy. Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote some ninety years after these events, tells practically the same story. And to this date of Roger de Laci's banishment, or rather, to two years prior to that serious event in the De Laci family, we must once more revert, in order to show in sufficient detail what was the then nature and extent of the Manor of Wyke, first of all interpolating the pedigree of the Gloucester De Laci (so far as it is known to us), at that period.

1. Save one manor, that of 'Hallhagan cum Bradewasse,' in Worcestershire, which he retained still in 1108: "in accordance with a policy which is believed to have been practised, namely, that of keeping a hold, however small, on the Forfeited." This manor was assessed at 3½ hides. (J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, 172, 176-7).



Héloise (? De Laci) = William de Evreux. Walter de Laci, gave her the Hyde, in Herefordshire upon her marriage. This she afterwards gave to the Abbey of St. Peter. (Cf. Vol. I., p. 88, H. & C., St. Petri: Glos.) She was perhaps a sister or niece.

* She gave the manor of 5 Hides in Duntisbourne to St. Peter's, Glo'ster, for the benefit of her Lord's Soul, valued at £4 (D.S.)

The Manor of Wyke, Wykeham, or Wiche, at a later day called Painswick,² consisted in 1086, of 20,760 acres, of which 14,600 were woodland. Of this, therefore, 6,160 acres were arable, or under part cultivation, and much must have been meadowland. The division of the land was into Demesne and Villenage,—the Lord's land and that held from him by his Villeins, or labouring tenants (*i.e.*, yard lands = 30 acres, and half-yard lands = 15 acres). The Lord had one team, and his villeins fifty-two. There were likewise four mills (flour). Painswick Manor consisted, therefore, of nearly two-thirds of the entire Hundred of Bisley, which extended in all to 32,294 acres; and it was valued at £24; but, although so large a manor, in area equivalent of 53 Hides of 120 acres apiece, it was assessed roughly at but one

1. That Ernisi's lands must have been given to Walter is shown by the charge on the Church of Wyke to Walter's Priory of St. Peter (later St. Guthlac) Hereford. Roger had succeeded his father as Lord of Wyke at Domesday.

2. After Pain Fitzjohn, who, no doubt, raised some fortification (castellum) there during the troubles in Gloucestershire, in the reign of King Stephen.

Hide.¹ Nevertheless, though Bisley Manor itself, valued at £23 in the day of Edward the Confessor, had now fallen to £20 at the date of Domesday, that of Wiche, or Wyke, had risen from £20 to £24, as was previously noted. This is an important fact, for, whereas the whole Hundred of Bisley was valued in King Edward's time at £75, in the Domesday Survey it had reached £82—a difference of £7. Now as Wyke (Painswick) had (as shown above) increased during that interval £4 in value, this Manor alone accounts for more than half of the £7 increase in the entire Hundred of Bisley. This directs us to the conclusion that Wyke had become the especial point of improvement in this Hundred. This, we may take it, was due to the increasing conversion of woodland into field. Doubtless, it further improved during the peace in Henry the First's reign.

But we are here confronted with a problem concerning Painswick and the Hundred of Bisley, in which its Manor and Vill was situated which is by no means easy to solve. We have seen that in 1086 the acreage of the entire Hundred of Bisley was reckoned at 32,294. The modern Commissioners reckon it at 24,640 only; less, therefore, by 7,654 acres. What has become of these missing acres of the Hundred? Either they lay without the Hundred and were reckoned in it, which is possible; or, they did not exist, *i.e.*, were due to a clerical error on the part of the scribe; which is practically unthinkable. Now, since Domesday, the Manors of Greenhamstead (Miserden), Winston, Sapperton, and Bisley, have increased their respective acreages to the extent of 266; 168; 1,748; and 7,454 acres: or, in all, 9,636 acres; while, correspondingly, Painswick and Edgworth have lost 17,146 and 144 acres: or, in all, 17,290 acres. If we subtract 9,636 from 17,290, the remainder is precisely 7,654, the number of the apparently missing acres of the Hundred.

Painswick and Edgworth have now but 3,614 and 1,538 acres, and together they comprise 5,152 acres, and the rest of the

1. It seems probable that De Laci, or his predecessor, may have obtained this low assessment by royal favour. This continued for more than two centuries, long after the arable area had been extended at the expense of the woodland. It is seen from the given area and the 53 teams that King William's Exchequer here reckoned 120 acres to the areal Hide. But the term Hide in two different senses—(1) a certain multiple of acres, and (2) a unit for assessment—has proved a cause of stumbling.

Hundred of Bisley comprises 19,488 acres = 24,640 acres. The woodland (*silva*) in Painswick is stated to be (D.S.) 5 *leucatæ* (leagues) long and 2 (leagues) in breadth. This is reckoned out by the Rev. Charles S. Taylor, in his Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire, at 14,600 acres, while the entire Hundred of Bisley included but 15,960 woodland; so that, outside this computation of the woodland for the Manor of Wyke, there remained only 1,360 acres of woodland for the rest of the entire Hundred. Whichever way we look at our Domesday Record, we are confronted with a possibly insoluble, but not unique, problem regarding the extent of the Hundred.

It must be mentioned with respect to Cranham, that this village and its parish has been a creation out of Wyke, or Painswick, but this was effected before Domesday and so does not enter into calculation.

"In hac terra tenet S^{ra} Maria de Cirencestre, unum villanum et parcellam silvæ. Valet X. Sol.:" "Hoc concessit ei Willelmus Rex:" *i.e.*, "Here the Priory of St Mary of Cirencester holds one villein and a portion of wood. Value 10s. This King William gave her." (D.S.)

The normal holding of a villein was a Virgate (or yard-land), of 30 acres, though many held but half-yards, and less, but some held more. If we take the average holdings at 20 acres, we should only get 1,040 acres under cultivation by the Villeins apart from the Demesne land, so that but one-sixth part of the arable area in the Manor was cultivated by the peasants for themselves. Mr Taylor, before-quoted, aptly says:—"Woodland was chiefly valuable on account of the grass in the spring, and the pannage in the autumn; timber, we may suppose, was too common to be regarded as any very great source of profit, though the best timber, oak and ash, was withheld from the tenants, who yet had the right of cutting wood for the repair of their homesteads and their implements."

He further adds:—"In several cases it is obvious that the woodland registered under the names of Manors must have lain outside the limits of the existing Parishes which answer most nearly to the Domesday Areas, and very likely at a considerable distance from them, where it cannot now be traced." (p. 64.) He

then instances Painswick, among others, as inexplicable otherwise. But, if that is so, and if all the 14,600 acres of woodland lay beyond our Manor, then we have to reckon, as will have been observed above, only upon the 6,360 untimbered acres as constituting actual area of the Manor topographically. How, once again, are we to arrive at our entire 20,760? Again, if we deduct the 14,600 from the Hundred itself, containing 32,294 as being outside it, it leaves us but 17,890, or 6,750 short of our modern reckoning for the Hundred of 24,640. Perhaps they lay outside the Hundred itself. However, these figures are adduced here merely to show the difficulties, alas, not to explain or resolve them. Could we but have asked the banished Roger de Laci, it is vexing to think how easily he could have satisfied us. It is obvious that although some of the woodland lay outside the Manor, much lay within it.

The number of males on the Manor at Domesday Survey was then 66, consisting of one Priest, three Horsemen of the lord (Radchenistri or Radknights), 35 Villeins, 16 Bordars, and 11 Serfs (Villani).

The Villeins were usually holders of yard-lands (*virgatae*) and half yard-lands in the villeinage, *i.e.*, the typical villagers, while the Bordars had smaller lots, from one to ten acres.¹ The Bordar was a cottager who took no part in the communal ploughing, and contributed no oxen to the plough-teams. Seebohm declares, —“His services were no less servile than those of the Villanus, but of a more trivial kind. He was above the ‘servus,’ or slave, but his was the class which most easily would slide into that of the modern labourer, and in which the ‘servus’ himself, in his turn might most easily merge. [The latter had no proprietary rights, nor legal status]. As ‘Bord’ gave way to ‘cottage’ in the common speech, so the whole class below the Villani came to be known as Cottagers.”²

1. Under Henry VII. by far the greater number of tenants in Painswick still held yard-lands and half yard-lands.

2. Cotarii. There is reason, however, to believe that these divisions were made on these lines, and that one kind of tenant often became another. Sometimes the Cottier possessed a garden, or five acres of field, besides his cottage; sometimes he had none of these.

The Radchenistri (Radmanni), or riding-men for the Lord's business-staff were, perhaps, the equivalents of the 'geneats' of earlier, Saxon days. They probably had three horses apiece. But their services were various in different manors. At Tewkesbury they ploughed and harrowed the Lord's land. Thus they were 'liberi,' or so-called freemen, rendering special but bounden services.

A Virgate,¹ or yard-land (A.S. gyrd-land), consisted of a bundle of strips² usually amounting to 30 acres, and these made up the cornfields around the village, Wick, or Ham, both in Saxon and in Norman times. A glance at a plan of Painswick will still suggest (in spite of all the inevitable modifications wrought by time and by custom) the original positions of certain of these. The ordinary day's ploughing was concluded at mid-day. Four virgates made a carucate, or ploughed land (Caruca—a plough). The normal outfit of a villanus was two oxen and one cow, though he often had four oxen, and sometimes more, to his team. On the other hand, the team of the lord, or manorial team, consisted of eight oxen, which corresponded to a carucate, or 120 acres of land. Such teams can still be seen at work near Brimsfield.

The fields were usually ploughed in waves, or 'selions' of from six to seven feet in width, so that the fields presented a series of equal and regular undulations; a method devised for purpose of drainage, and yet in use.

The Demesne (or lord's) land, contained picked pieces of the estate or manor, but portions of this were held of him only by 'Liberi tenentes,' or free-tenants. These, however, do not occur in the Domesday Survey of Wyke. Wyke, then, owned one full team for the lord, but no 'liberi tenentes.' In later days the Demesne land increased, so as to include Ham, Ifold, Washwell,³ and Duddescombe, each of these being a 'Tithing.' So that Painswick had four Tithings.

And here the Saxon word 'Ham' arrests attention. It lay immediately on the west of modern Painswick, but contiguous to it, including what is still called Hamfield and Ham-butts.⁴ In Rolls of Henry VI. (1430) it is still mentioned as the

1. Virga (L.), a rod. 2. *i.e.*, the most convenient form for the ploughing.
3. Wiswell. 4. Butts signifies 'abutting' lands.

'Hamme,' and it had come down as such from Saxon days.' The word is cognate with 'Heim' and 'home,' and is held to correspond to the permanent hereditary possession or 'manor,' the estate of a Thane. In other words it was used by the Saxon thane as the equivalent of Latin 'Villa.' The Domesday Survey reveals that, in Gloucestershire, only as much as four per cent. of the place-names included this word 'Ham,' while in Norfolk and Suffolk (as might be conjectured) the proportion to others amounted to as much as eighteen per cent., or four and a half times as many. In our valley, then, the Saxons had Wyke-ham and Cranham.

It was, therefore, on the Gloucester side of modern Painswick, that the Saxon interest here centred. There will have been the homestead of its unknown Saxon Lords; possibly of that Edel (=Ethel, or noble Thegn, or Chief), whose vanished sepulchre was in our neighbourhood, once known as Idelsbarrow, which has been referred to.²

It is, therefore, of no little interest to remark that northward, just beyond the Ham, on the overbrowsing spar called Ifold (*i.e.*, the lower ground one hundred yards beyond Mr Bartlett's farm), were discovered, in 1868, traces since proved to be those of a Roman farm-villa; doubtless the centre of a Romano-British estate of which it was the homestead, surrounded by numerous out-houses, barns, granaries, &c. From these facts it will be legitimate to draw the conclusion that Sponebed, Ifold, and Ham, possessing the best land, were the earliest cultivated portions of this manor, and they were tilled by Saxon serf-labour. At Ham will have been the lord's, or thane's, house with its adjacent demesne land (or boc-land), while the 'utland,' or 'folcland' lay around it; the former standing in relation to the latter perhaps as much as two-thirds. The village, or wick,³ with its Saxon community, lay but a little way off. That is to say, the Saxon *Ham* here certainly did not grow out of, although in sight of, the then ruined Roman Villa crowning Ifold beyond it. It will be

1. Painswick is called both Wyke and Wick-ham in the 13th cent.

2. The Mill near Tocknells still bears the name in the Survey Map of to-day,—“Eddel's Mill.”

3. Vicus.

shown that the Norman Lords set their manorial 'mansio' or 'castellum,' south of the village church, in fact, on the ridge overlooking the next valley, wherein some of their valuable corn-mills lay, and that, at a more settled period, their inheritors, owing to particular circumstances to be recounted later on in this volume, quitted even that, and travelled somewhat eastwards of Wick, or Painswick, and there having emparked the Manor and given it a Lodge (*i.e.*, the Lodge Farm), in the 15th century they destroyed the old Hall, Castle, or Manor House, and glorified the Lodge to the Manor Service. The centre of importance will thus be seen to have moved south-eastward in this Manor.²

The Villicus, or Steward, of the Roman owner's estate, may be said to have become represented in Saxon and later days here, by the Wicgêrefa, or præfectus (Bede), prepositus, steward, bailiff, or 'Senescallus.' (Cf. *The old English Manor.* p. 130-1. C.M. Andrews.) So that in some, not too indefinite fashion, we remind ourselves of the continuous chain of local manorial inheritance, the nature of the links, however, of but one half of which are we enabled to realise by means of literary evidence.

At this point, let us return to *Hugh de Laci*, as Lord of the Manor of Wick, or Wyke, or Wykeham,—'Vir quidem genere nobilis, sed nobilior moribus: inter primos regni principes nominatissimus, pauperum et oppressorum misertor benignissimus.' (Chron. 1, Lantonæ, Julius X., B.M.) Whether Wyke possessed a church in the time of Edward the Confessor is not evidenced; but it is, however, nearly certain, seeing that at Domesday the place had its own priest, and 25 years still later, Hugh de Laci made the donation of its Church to the Augustinian Priory of Llantonny Prima on property of his in Wales. So, by A.D. 1110,

1. Though the Saxons possessed mills here before them.

2. And here it is of interest to note that in the 'Testa de Nevill' we have a transitional form of the name of Wyke. 'William de Monchensi tenet Wykham pro servicio unius Hidæ.' (circa 1190, A.D.) He is the son of Agnes Fitzjohn, otherwise, Lord of the Manor. Hence, it is clear, the place had been known as Wyke, or Wick, the Vicus, or Vill, as well as the Ham of some Saxon Thegn. At Domesday, Wyke combines in it the Vill and Manor. It is a manorial Vill, subject however, to one lord alone; a hamlet composed of semi-free, semi-servile tenants to a single great lord, dependent on him for service in varying degrees. The assessment in 1190, was still according to the Domesday Hidage.

it must have had a Church with all its appurtenances. Indeed, there was already burdening it a pension for St Peter's (later St Guthlac's) Priory at Hereford, endowed by Walter de Laci, his father, which pension (40s.) continued to be paid down to the date of the dissolution of the Monasteries (1539).

It was in this manner Painswick Church, throughout four centuries and more came to have Austin Canons for its Rectors. For Llantony Prima rose in 1108 into being as a Cœnobium of Canons under that Rule, governed by Ernisi (formerly, himself, Lord of Wyke or Painswick), thus constituting itself one of the earliest convents in England belonging to that Order—that of St Julian and St Botolph, at Colchester (built and endowed by Queen Maud in 1105), being the first, and that of Holy Trinity, London, being the second. For the Reform of the Canons followed quickly on the Reform of Benedictine Order, and Pope Paschal II. commanded all Canons thenceforward to adopt this one Rule. Hugh De Laci, however, died circa 1121 (?) and eleven years later, some of the Canons were constrained to flee from Llantony to Hereford owing to so-called reprisals made on them by the Welsh.¹ Robert Betun, Bishop of Hereford, second Prior of Llantony, and Milo, Constable of Gloucester (whose father, Walter, had been interred at Llantony),² now came to their aid, and in 1136 a fresh Llantony was founded and endowed for them at Gloucester, upon a piece of land belonging to Milo, called the Hyde.³ In the later days of that 12th century, however, the original Llantony in Wales revived and was rebuilt (as I have elsewhere shown) on a grand scale, enriched by De Laci's descendant and namesake, and endowed with fresh grants of land, principally in Ireland. Nevertheless, the Advowson of Painswick Church clung to the second Llantony at Gloucester, and became confirmed to it, over and over again, by the descendants of Hugh de Laci (I.) as Lords of the Manor of Painswick. These confirmations will be found in 'A History of the Church of St. Mary at Painswick' by the present writer, the originals being in the Registrum Lantonæ, at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham.

1. It is certain that, although many fled, several remained there.
2. Probably one of the first to be buried there.
3. Hugh de Laci (son of Gilbert), killed in Ireland, 1185.

Mr A. S. Ellis, in his 'Domesday Tenants of Gloucestershire,' states that Hugh de Laci "was dead without issue in 1121, and the only surviving brother, Walter (II.) being a monk (Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, 1130-9), a nephew named Gilbert, son of their sister Emma, took the name of De Laci and secured the estates, which descended in his heirs." This account, derived from Giraldus, has been also followed by Miss Kingsford (C.L.K.) in the D. Nat. Biog: (Vol. XXI., p. 390). "Henry I. seems to have taken the De Laci estates into his own hands; but Gilbert, son of Hugh's sister Emma, assumed the name of De Laci, and claimed to represent the family." At p. 375 the same writer states likewise of Gilbert: "His father's name is not known. After the death of Hugh de Laci, the family estates were taken back into royal hands." This is seen by means of a reference in the Great Roll of the Pipe—"Paganus Filius Johannis In Dominio Regis de Wica vi. 3."

Hugh de Laci was married. But though we cannot prove that he had issue, we can prove that he left a niece, Sybil, who survived him, and whom he had endowed with certain of his vast estates, and whose immediate heirs in these were her own daughters by her husband, Pain Fitzjohn. Painswick thus became severed from the De Laci Barony. The other De Laci estates in this county ultimately became Gilbert de Laci's.

As this is an important matter, let us first note Hugh de Laci's marriage. The following Charter, giving evidence of it, will be found in Vol. III., p. 256, 'Historia et Cartularium, S. Petri., Glouc: ' (Rolls Series).

"Anno ab Incarnatione Domini, Millesimo Centesimo, Hugo de Laceio et *Adeliza*, uxor ejus, dederunt ecclesiæ Sancti Petri de Gloucestrie, ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Herefordia, cum omnibus quæ ad eam pertinent, pro animabus patris et matris, et omnium parentum suorum, et pro suis, liberam et quietam in elemosinam tenendam a monachis sub ipsis, et sub heredibus eorum . . . Ipsi, vero, et corpora sua apud eos sepeliri, et rerum suarum partem universam quæ eis contingerit, monachis donari concesserunt.

"Testibus Radulpho de Penebrugge, Alexandro de Cormeliis, Radulpho filio Ansetilli, Ansfred de Ebroicis, (Evreux) Tiri de

Sai, Gotse, dapifero, Ernaldo de Uschamla, Ricardo de Eschetot, Roger de Wica.”¹

Hugh's Lady was therefore Adeliza (—), and she was living in A.D. 1100, but evidence is still lacking as to which family she belonged. It would not be surprising should she prove to have been a daughter of the House of De Cormeilles, an important member of which is the second of the above witnesses, and whose mother (?) was a first cousin, being niece to Walter de Laci, Hugh's father. Ansfrid de Cormeilles had lands in Duntisbourne and Winston from Walter de Laci when he married his niece (neptis),—so Domesday Survey tells us. Ermelina de Laci gave the Manor of Duntisbourne (5 Hides, valued (D.S.) at £4) to St. Peter's, Gloucester (Cf. H. & C. I. 73, 224), in 1085, for the saving of her late husband WALTER'S soul.

And now as to evidence of Hugh's heir : In Charter No. 20, Duchy of Lancaster, dated by Mr J. H. Round, December, 1137-May 1138, which is a confirmation by King Stephen to Roger,² afterwards Earl of Hereford, and to Cecilia, his wife, of all the lands which her father, Pain Fitzjohn, had inherited or acquired, together with her own marriage-portion, we find the following instructive passage :—

“Et omne maritagium quod Predictus Paganus dedit filiæ suæ de Honore Hugonis de Laceio in terris et militibus ; et omne illud juris quod ipse Paganus habebat in toto Honore Hugonis de Laceio.” Here we have facts indicated. First of all, Pain Fitzjohn has endowed his daughter Cecilia with land and knights' fees out of Hugh de Laci's ‘Honour,’ and, secondly, we are shewn that Pain had certain but limited rights in the entire Honour of Hugh de Laci. We, therefore, ask : how was such right acquired ? Previous writers have imagined that the estates of Hugh de Laci escheated to the King, who granted them to a favourite minister, Pain Fitzjohn. But it becomes evident that Pain married Hugh de Laci's niece and heiress, so that it is not

1. These witnesses are all tenants, and some are kinsfolk of the De Laci family, on their Gloucestershire and Herefordshire estates. Wica is probably Painswick. Alexander de Cormeilles was a son of Ansfrid de Cormeilles, who married a niece of Walter de Laci (I.), c. 1080.

2. Eldest son of Milo of Gloucester, made Earl of Hereford by the Empress Maud, 1141.

needful to imagine that the estates escheated. The Charter goes on to say :—

“Et propter hoc quidquid Paganus dedit *Sibillæ uxori suæ* in dotem *de Hereditate sua*, ut illud teneat ipsa Sibilla de Rogerio, et Cecilia, uxore sua.”

So that Sibilla, Pain's wife, had family possessions for her dower, which her husband permitted her to enjoy. The questions arise at once: who was Sibilla? What were her lands, and to whom was she heiress? The answer is in part contained in the following Charter¹ granted by her to the Priory of Ewyas Harold :—

“Carta Sibillæ de Laci de terra de Leghe de Ewias.”

“Sibilla de Laceio omnibus ballivis et forestariis suis de Ewias, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et carta mea confirmavisse Waltero Abbati,² avunculo meo, et monachis Gloucestriæ, terram de Leghe, juxta ecclesiam Sancti Michaelis de Ewias, quam Haraldus de Ewias prædictæ ecclesiæ dedit in elemosinam; scilicet de fumam usque ad pistil et de Duneleis et de fumam usque ad summitatem montis de Maischoit, ex utramque parte de Duneleis, tenendam liberam et quietam ab omni consuetudine et servicio. Concedo etiam predictis monachis Gloucestriæ qui manent apud Sanctum Michaellem de Ewias, et hominibus suis pro salute animæ meæ, et pro animi Domini mei, *Pagani filii Johannis*, et pro animis antecessorum meorum, (for the soul of my Lord Pain Fitzjohn and for the souls of all my ancestors) ut habeant omnia eis necessaria in predicta foresta mea de Maischoit,³ scilicet, in pascuis et quidquid eis necesse fuerit ad domos suas edificandas libere et quiete.

“Testibus: Waltero de Scudemer,⁴ Gilberto de Eschet et aliis.”

1. This I owe to the kindness and acumen of Rev. A. T. Bannister, M.A., Vicar of Ewias Harold, and author of the History of Ewias Harold, Hereford, 1902.

2. Walter de Laci, Abbot of St. Peter at Gloucester, 1130-1139.

3. Maes-y-coed.

4. Reginald and Godfrey de Scudemer occur as witnesses to a Charter by which Harald de Ewyas grants lands at Ewyas to St Peter's, Glo'ster, circa 1100, p. 288, Hist. et Cart. S.P.G. Cf. also p. 76.

Gilbert de Escott was living in 1100, and, with his wife and son Robert, gave land to St. Peter's, in Dunteshourne, for the soul of his Lord, Walter de Laci. p. 73, Vol. I.

Sybil Fitzjohn was therefore niece of Walter de Laci, Abbot of Gloucester, and the wife of Pain, who may have been her guardian. But the word 'avunculus' usually means a maternal uncle. Hence, we must conclude that Sybil was only niece to Hugh de Laci, through a sister, Emma or Emmelina, although Sybil's daughter Cecilia, later on, in a Llantony document (at Cheltenham) is given Hugh de Laci for her grandfather :—" Cecilia Comitissa, cognita donatione Hugonis de Laci avi sui super eandem Ecclesia de Wyke (Painswick), nobis eam confirmavit." The Canons of Llantony ought to have known, but it may be they made a clerical error. We shall await solution of this point with interest. As we do not see the way to getting over the "avunculo" of Sybil's charter, it seems necessary to give it full credit, and to conclude that the copyists of the Canons of Llantony have here committed a small mistake. In this case, we have still to find out Sybil's father.

This all tends to prove the correctness of the statement made by Giraldus, with regard to Gilbert de Laci. It will be presently shewn that Gilbert was probably the brother of Sybil Fitzjohn.

Sybil would appear to have experienced some trouble with her son-in-law, after her lord's decease. For, there is a Precept (in the Duchy of Lancaster Charters) from Roger,¹ Bishop of Salisbury, to her, to restore to Roger, the Earl, all the lands with which she had been endowed by her late lord, in grass, hay, and 'de vino de Maudino,' and all other things as they were in the day when King Stephen granted them to the said Roger, son of Milo, with the said Sybil's eldest daughter, Cecilia. It is witnessed by Roger, the Chancellor of Malmesbury.

Returning to the Charter, Mr J. Horace Round has fixed its date by the facts that Walter de Laci, Sybil's uncle, and Abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, living at the date of the concession, died in A.D., 1139; on the other hand, that Pain Fitzjohn was slain 10th July, 1137, while attacking some Welsh rebels at Caus Castle. His body was brought to Gloucester, and buried in the monk's Chapter-House, says Florence of Worcester.* We may therefore safely assign it to A.D. 1138.

1. This was Roger, Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor, who died 1139.

2. His wife's uncle, Walter de Laci, being Abbot there, as shown above.

It is quite probable that Pain¹ like so many of his contemporaries in the troublous reign of Stephen, may have erected a manorial Castle at Wyke, or Painswick, which once occupied the vantage-point south of the Church of St Mary, commanding the valley toward Stroud, and now occupied by both Court House and Castle Hale (Hall). The latter, in such case, probably derives its name from the fact, for, in the earliest extant manor rolls (temp. Hen. VI.), the property is therein described as 'Castellum,' and later, in documents of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, as Castle Halle. That will account to us for that otherwise strange fact that Pain Fitzjohn, rather than his many De Monchensi descendants, became commemorated here by the affixing of his name to Wyke. For Painswick was simply 'Wick,' or 'Wykeham,' until the middle of the 13th century, when it becomes written Wyke Pagani, or Painswick, evidently in memory of Pain, who we know had no male issue. It was usual for the manorial castle to be built near the church, and the commanding site required by such a building could scarcely have been more adroitly selected than in the above position. On the other hand, we should recall the fact that Mr Round has proved that 'Castellum' did not mean necessarily a built Castle or Keep, but was a term for any fortified enclosure. It might, therefore, in the case of Castle Hale, indicate a still earlier fortification at the head of Wick street (now Stamages), leading to Wyke. In the same way we hear the 'Camp' still called locally 'The Castles.' But it is now certain that the Hale here signifies Hall: the Hall of the Castle: NOT 'Hale'=the Stocks, and there is no trace of earthworks to be found.

1. Brother of Eustace and of William Fitzjohn, Sheriff of Shropshire, c. 1127; Justice Itinerant in conjunction with Milo of Gloucester, 1130.

2. The Church 'style' in the Rolls is called 'Castle Hale style,' never 'Court-house style.'

In some Rolls the House is actually called 'Castle Halle.'

CHAPTER III.

GILBERT DE LACI (? 1108-1163) AND PAIN FITZJOHN (— 1137).

The Charter already referred to, consists of a confirmation by King Stephen to Roger, son of Milo, Earl of Hereford, and to Cecily, his wife, of all the land which the latter's father, Pain Fitzjohn, had inherited, or acquired, together with her own marriage-portion. "Et omne maritagium quod predictum Paganus dedit filiæ suæ de Honore Hugonis de Laceio in terris et militibus. Et omne illud juris quod ipse Paganus habebat in toto honore Hugonis de Laceio, sicut ipse Paganus dedit et concessit illum ipsi Rogerio cum filia sua de actis suis hac subscripta maneria."

From this it appears, (1) that Pain Fitzjohn, at the time of his death (July 10th, 1137), and for some undetermined time prior to that event, possessed certain rights over the Honour of the late Hugh de Laci, who has now been proved to have been his wife's maternal uncle; and that (2) he had given to his daughter or niece Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, on her marriage with Roger (Fitz-Milo), certain lands in dower from her relative's Honour, including the Manors of Wyke (Painswick), Edgworth, Alwynton; finally (3), that King Stephen confirmed all these rights to Cecilia, upon Pain's decease.

At that date Hugh de Laci had been dead several years (? 1121) and, having (as far as is known) left no son to succeed him, King Henry, after that event, had apparently conferred upon Pain Fitzjohn, who had married Hugh's niece Sybil, the whole of his Honour (*i.e.*, some 115 Manors, of which 27 were situated in Gloucestershire). This Pain had enjoyed in addition to his own acquired property for some years, until the arrow of a Welsh rebel put an end to his life, and the monks of Gloucester received his body into their Chapter-House.

But it must not be forgotten that when Hugh de Laci's elder brother, Roger, had been banished and deprived for rebellion, he had been permitted to retain one Manor, namely, Halhagan cum Bradwasse, in Worcestershire. The family fief in France, at Lasçi, in the diocese of Bayeux, had been granted to King Henry's natural son, Robert, Duke of Gloucester. The former (Worcestershire) Manor was still his in 1108, and at no time does it appear to have passed to Hugh de Laci, his brother, or to Pain Fitzjohn. We do not know the date of Roger de Laci's death.

The fief at Lasçi is mentioned in the list of knights holding fiefs of the Bishop of Bayeux in 1133 (Cf. Lib. Rubeus, p. 646, Rolls Series). "*Feodum De Lasçi ii milites.*" That is to say, each of the two branches (the Gloucestershire and the Yorkshire) of De Laci possessed a fee there: one of which was at Lasçi, whence their name, the other, at Campeaux; and both these had been forfeited and bestowed upon Robert, Earl of Gloucester. For the representatives of both branches, Roger de Laci, and Robert de Laci, Lord of Pontefract, had equally been concerned in Robert, Duke of Normandy's rebellion. The claims to these, their respective possessions in the Diocese of Bayeux, were retained by the said Duke of Gloucester until 1146, when, by reference to the '*Calendar of Documents of France*' (Ed. J. H. Round), it is seen that he surrendered "*tota feoda Ilberti et Gilberti de Laceio quæ tenebant apud Laceium et Campels (sic).*" That is to say, King Stephen restored to the two representatives of Roger and Robert de Laci, Ilbert and Gilbert, their family lands above-mentioned, and the Duke of Gloucester acknowledged the Bishop of Bayeux to be once more their over-lord.

As Ilbert de Laci (of the Yorkshire branch) appears in 1136 as a witness to Stephen's Charter of Liberties, it is clear that he had then returned to England. His name also occurs as witness to two other Charters of that year. Ælred of Rivaux records that he had been in banishment throughout the reign of Henry (d. 1135) "*tempore Regis Henrici exulans.*" From Richard of Hexham we learn that by the Charter of Liberties whatever Henry had taken from Robert de Laci, his son Ilbert regained. Henry had indeed granted the Honour of Pontefract

1. This Ilbert was the son of Robert de Laci.

to William de Maltravers ; and, apparently, one of Ilbert's own retainers, named Pain, promptly slew de Maltravers ; and a Charter (Class 25, 9, Duchy of Lancaster) lets us know that Stephen *pardons* the men of Ilbert de Laci for this murder.

With regard to Gilbert de Laci, (of the Gloucestershire branch), no mention of his restoration occurs, nor does his name appear among those of the witnesses to the 'Charter of Liberties' given at Oxford in 1136. On the other hand, at the opening of the Civil War, within two years later (1137-8), he and his kinsman Geoffrey de Talbot, appear fighting at Weobley, in Herefordshire, at Bristol (May), and at Bath, under the command of Robert, Duke of Gloucester, on behalf of the Empress Maud against the new King. The south-west of England (with the exception of Gloucester) in fact, had become solid against Stephen. Milo of Gloucester welcomed the King to the Castle of that City in May, 1138, and at this time, or but little before it, Stephen confirmed to Milo's son and to Cecilia the inheritances both of Hugh de Laci and of Pain Fitzjohn.

That being so, any hope of recovery of the De Laci Honour by Gilbert de Laci from Stephen was put beyond all present possibility. Moreover, it sealed him to the side of the Empress, from whose possible successes much might some day be won. By the summer of 1139, however, Milo and Roger had so effectually cooled off from Stephen, that they were preparing to receive and welcome the Empress herself upon her arrival in September of that year. She was later invited from Bristol to Gloucester by Milo, and there she conferred upon him the reward of his conversion by granting him the Constablership of St. Briavels and the Forest of Dean. Stephen deprived him, on the other hand, of the Constablership of England. From this, further, by Charter of July 25, 1141 (Cf. *Fœdera* 1, 8), Maud advanced him to the Earldom of Hereford, and one of the witnesses to her Charter is Gilbert de Laci. His hopes must have looked bright.

This proves at once both Gilbert's fidelity to her cause and his personal prominence, but we do not gather what, if any, reward was granted him for his own services. That he would endeavour to recover his family possessions we may be sure, and indeed, finally he became possessed of these. But he was now brought into

unpleasantly close contact with Milo's son, Roger, who was actually enjoying them with Pain Fitzjohn's daughter. We shall find later on that dangerous differences did indeed arise between them, and we shall see Roger conspiring to disinherit Gilbert de Laci. It is manifest that the Empress, having gained so important a champion as Milo, dared not advance De Laci's claims against those of Milo's son. Who De Laci was, will be presently considered.

During the next two years the cause of the Empress suffered gravely in spite of Milo's wealth and influence. His accidental death on Christmas Day, 1143, at Gloucester, only accentuated its downfall. She found herself besieged at Oxford by Stephen himself. There is neither evidence to prove that Gilbert de Laci forsook her cause for that of Stephen, or that the Empress ever recompensed him for his services. The only notice of him in 1146 is contained in a document (already mentioned), which says that her brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester, surrendered all his claims over the fiefs of Ilbert and Gilbert de Laci (in France), to the Bishop of Bayeux. In this year the Empress withdrew to Normandy. In the following year, 1147, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, also died.

No sooner does Henry II. succeed to Stephen's throne than a strange gleam of light is thrown upon the position of Gilbert de Laci, by the existence of a treaty of alliance between Roger, now Earl of Hereford, and William, Earl of Gloucester (neither of them in favour with the new king), directed especially to the disinheriting of Gilbert¹ (Duchy of Lancaster, Box A. No. 4, N.D.) This is called, somewhat curiously, a 'Treaty of Love.' From it we cannot but conclude that Gilbert de Laci had already successfully pressed some portion of his claims to the forfeited inheritance of his forebears in the De Laci Honour, at the expense of Earl Roger. Other sources discover the ill-favour accorded by the new king to Roger, the Earl, and to all the other sons of Milo. In the following year, for instance, when Earl Roger died childless,² the king refused to allow any of them

1. "Saving the hostage given to Earl Roger by Earl William in favour of Robert, Earl of Leicester."

2. October, 1155.

to succeed him in his title, and sequestered the earldom. His ground for doing so was no doubt in part that it had been illegally conferred upon Earl Roger's father by the Empress Maud eleven years before. How had Gilbert de Laci recovered his family lands, &c. ? Is it possible that the Empress restored them ?

Immediately following this we find proof of the king's full favour to Gilbert de Laci. The Pipe Roll (p. 144) of 1157 (4 Hen. II.) shews him under new pleas and agreements, in possession of fiefs in the three counties of Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Salop. In the same year we find him excused the 'Donum' to the king, and, a little later, occurs the said king's 'confirmatio' to him of the possession of Stanton, Ludlow and Ewyas; in fact, he has recovered the Lordship of Ludlow and Ewyas, and all the family fees in the other counties, excepting, of course, Wyke, or Painswick, and certain others of the marriage-portions of Cecilia, widow of Roger, Earl of Hereford, and his own kinswoman (possibly sister), her mother Sybil Fitzjohn. It is clear, therefore, that Henry II., on coming to the throne, had at least refused to confirm these hereditaments of De Laci to Earl Roger. Hence, the latter's attempted conspiracy against Gilbert de Laci.

The widow of Fitzjohn still survived, and the Cartulary of Ewyas Harold affords convenient proofs of Gilbert's position. In it he confirms, by Charter, Sybil's former grant of Leghe (See Chapter II.) to the Abbey of St Peter (Gloucester) made before 1139 (under her uncle Walter de Laci's Abbacy, and later he increases that grant by an addition of pasture situated in the forest of Maschoit.²

1. (1) Herefordshire.

Et in p̄dōñ p brevia Regis. •Gilberto de Lasci. IX. li. et III. sol:

(2) Gloucestershire.

Nova Placita et novæ Conventiones et Gilberto de Lasci. XXVI. sol. et VIII. den.

(3) Shropshire.

Et Gilberto de Lasci, III. lib. et III. sol. et IX. den.
Et Willelmo fratri Reginæ, VI. sol. et IX. den.

2. Confirmatio Gilberti de Laceio, testibus Hugo de Eschet, Fratre Roberti et aliis,—de pastura in forestia de Maschoit;—confirming and adding to Sybilla Fitzjohn's grant of wood and stone for building and pasture for cattle. Cartul: Ewyas. (Cf. Hist. of Ewias Harold. Rev. T. A. Bannister, M.A.)

A tried warrior, with important possessions in the Welsh border, was a personage of peculiar value to the crown in those violent days. There were to be combated, not merely the Welsh themselves, but rebellious Norman Barons, whose conduct brought about sieges of Wigmore, Cleobury, and Bridgnorth, undertaken by the king himself. A second royal expedition to Wales took place in 1158. We need not question that on these occasions Gilbert de Laci distinguished himself, as also did his son Hugh, afterwards the invader of Ireland, and founder of Killeen Castle.¹ The latter, eight years later, is found to be the holder of sixty fees in Herefordshire alone. (*Liber Rubeus*, Vol. 1, page 281. *Rolls Series*.)

We do not know, as yet, to whom Gilbert de Laci was married. On the other hand, while Gilbert is found giving houses and lands to the support of a Preceptory for the Templars at Quenington,² including land at Temple Guiting and Winchcombe, we discover an Agnes de Laci in 1166 (or three years after Gilbert's decease while fighting against Noureddin, Sultan of Aleppo, for the release of Bertrand, the captive Grand Master of the Temple³) giving a benefice of Quenington with all its appurtenances to the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England. This was done in conjunction with Cecilia, Countess of Hereford, who had taken to herself a second husband, William of Poitou. I venture to take this Agnes de Laci to have been Gilbert's wife, for his son Hugh's wife at this time was Roesia de Monmouth, while later he married the daughter of Roderick, King of Connaught, Rose O'Connor (alive in 1224), by each of whom he had several sons. Neither of these was named Agnes.

The question naturally now arises, who of the De Laci family was the father of Gilbert de Laci? Giraldus, who lived and wrote in the days of Gilbert's grandson, says that Gilbert was son of a sister to Roger, Hugh, and Walter de Laci, and he names her Emma. Further, he states that he took the name of De Laci in order to inherit the estates. This, in default of other more direct evidence, has been hitherto accepted as his origin, and

1. County Meath.

2. Dugdale. *Monasticon*, pp. 548-9.

3. The expedition was made under Guy de Lusignan's command.

Giraldus was a writer, if not impeccably accurate, likely to have known. Emma de Laci was the mother of Roger and his brothers:¹ so the name of Emma was easily to be connected with the family name. Mr A. S. Ellis has conjectured that Emmelina de Hesding, wife of Arnulf de Hesding, was a sister of the above three brothers, but I am aware of no close evidence to support the conjecture. Emmelina is moreover not the same as Emma, though cases of confusion may have occurred between these. As to Gilbert having changed his name (?) (and we are not told what that was) in order to inherit De Laci's lands, it must be remembered that he appears on the scene as Gilbert de Laci in the year following Pain Fitzjohn's death, namely 1138, and he did not inherit the said lands it would seem, until 15 years later. That he was closely related to the banished Roger de Laci, on the other hand, seems not a little probable, especially for two reasons. Firstly, he does not come to the front until after the death of Henry I., who had confirmed the banishment of Roger. Secondly, in 1146, the fief of Roger in the Diocese of Bayeux is mentioned with that of his kinsman Robert, under the names of Gilbert and Ilbert de Laci. *Tota feoda Ilberti et Gilberti de Laceio, quæ jure tenebant apud Lacium et Campels (Campeaux).* To these, which had been granted to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, by Henry I., in 1101, upon their confiscation,—that Earl still laid claim. The tense of 'tenebant' looks as though both these Barons had been allowed to hold their respective fiefs in France by Henry I. as from his natural son, (the Earl of Gloucester), and that accounts satisfactorily for Gilbert being found fighting for the Empress under the banner of Earl Robert himself at the sieges of Bristol and Bath. We cannot doubt that the De Laci fiefs of two knights mentioned in 1133² as being held from the Church of Bayeux, were entirely being held by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and that soon after this date the representatives of the two De Laci families, Ilbert and Gilbert, were respectively permitted to enjoy them by him. As we have seen, Ilbert soon after King Henry's death appeared as a partisan of Stephen. With him was a

1. Cf. *Cart. Mon. Glouc.* Vol. I., p. 15.

2. (*Lib. Rubeus*, p. 646. R. 5.)

younger brother, Henry,¹ who fell in 1138 at the Battle of the Standard (August 22nd). On the whole, we shall be inclined to believe that Gilbert De Laci was not a son of the banished Roger, but was, as Giraldus said, the son of a sister ; moreover, that he was brother to Sybil Fitzjohn.

1. Their sister married to Robert de Lisours. Cf. G Roll of the Pipe. Henry I., 31 (1130). Their mother's name, also, was Emma. She eventually became a nun in the Abbey de St. Amand, to which she gave 22 acres of land at Mortmain. (Cf. Cal. Doc. France. Ed. J. H. Round, p. 24).

CHAPTER IV.

ROGER FITZ-MILO, EARL OF HEREFORD, AND CECILIA FITZJOHN
—CECILIA'S OTHER HUSBANDS—HER SISTER AGNES DE MON-
CHENSI SUCCEEDS TO PAINSWICK—INSECURITY—PRODUCTS
OF THE MANOR—LIFE THERE.

After the death of Pain Fitzjohn (1137), we have to notice the descent of his Manor during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., through his two daughters and the sons of the younger of these; for the elder, Cecilia, had no issue. This will take us through the 12th century, for these two ladies attained to extreme old age.

Roger, Earl of Hereford, is reported to have endeavoured to divorce his wife by reason of her giving him no children, a misfortune, however, which he curiously shared with each of his brothers. All these sons of Milo, the Constable, seem to have been regarded as an exceptionally wicked brood. The Register of the Abbey of Lillieshall calls Roger 'Vir bellicosus,' and speaks of Payn Fitzjohn,¹ "cujus filiam (Cecilia) Rogerus, Comes Herefordiæ, duxit in uxorem, quam postea sprexit." Toward the end of his life, he laid down the sword, and became a monk of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester; his wife probably continued to reside on her property at Wyke, where we have been led to assume that her father, Pain, had built a 'Castellum,' and perhaps first established its market. This event in Roger's life, *i.e.*, turning Monk, took place after A.D. 1148, but before A.D. 1155,³ which proved to be the last year of his life. The wife that he spurned outlived him by full half a century.

1. 'Pain, whose daughter Cecilia Roger, Earl of Hereford, married, whom afterwards he scorned.'

2. Possibly pulled down in part after the accession of Henry II.

3. Cf. Hist: et Cart: S. Petri, Glouc: Vol. —.

Within a short time of the Earl's demise, Cecilia married her second husband, William of Poitou.¹ This is proved, among other sources, by a suit brought in Easter term, 1232, by Sir Warine de Monchensi, in which he traces certain of his rights in Wyke to "Cecilia² Comitissa, ut antecessor, quia obiit sine herede de se, descendit jus terræ illius cuidam Agneti, ut sorori et heredi." From Agnes these rights, together with Painswick, descended to her son, by William de Monchensi, namely, William II. de Monchensi, Warine's father. In the suit further on, speaking of Walter of Maine³ (Cecilia's third husband), he mentions William de Poitou as his predecessor. Now, the Charters of 1166 show us this Walter de Maine holding one knight's fee in Painswick. This must have been 'jure uxoris:' (by right of his wife); hence, William of Poitou must have been married to Cecilia (Lady of Painswick and Countess of Hereford) after 1155, and have died before 1166. "Et mortuo predicto Willelmo,⁴ cepit in virum quendam Walterum de Meinne (for Mayenne, or Maine)."⁵ Both Walter and Cecilia are found confirming Hugh de Laci's 'donatio' of the Advowson of Painswick Church to the Prior and Convent of Llantony at Gloucester (Cf. pp. 8-9 Hist. of St Mary, Painswick).

Walter⁶ died before 1190, but Cecilia lived on into a great

1. His possessions will be seen on referring to Liber Rubens. p. 266. A.D. 1166.

2. "Cecilia, the Countess, as his ancestress, because she died without child to succeed her, and her sister Agnes became her heir." Cf. p. 84, note 1.

3. Also, Cf. *Liber Rubens*: Cecilia Comitissa Herefordiæ quæ fuit uxor Walteri de Meduana, &c. p. 135 (A.D., 1201-2).

4. William of Poitou being dead, she married Walter of Maine.

5. I owe knowledge of these facts, in the first instance, to Mr J. H. Round.

6. *Liber Rubens de Scaccario*.

Walter de Meduana (Maine), Kent (A.D., 1167-8, a. 14, Hen. II., Fol. 53d.

xxij l. j.m. : et de novo xx s.

Assisum Scutagium Galweie ad xx Solidos. Kent. Walterus de Meduana.

xv l. (1186-7, a. xxxiii, fol. 59.

Scutagium Walliæ Assisum, ad. x s. (1190-1, a. 2 Ric. I., fol. 62, p. 70.)

Honor Wⁱ de Monchensi xxix l. xxix milites. (1194-5, a. 6 Ric. I., fol. 64, p. 79.) Kent.

Ad Redemptionem ejus.

Scutagium ad. xx s.

Scutagium Normannæ ad. xx s. Honor Wⁱ de M. Kent. xxix l. per Ceciliam C^m. Herfordiæ, et Will. de M. C. xxix milites. 1196-7, a. 8 Ric. I., fol. 67-8, p. 96.

(Cecilia) Comitissa Herefordiæ (cf., p. 135. A.D., 1201-2), quæ fuit uxor Wⁱ de Meduana. xij l. x. s. de Scutagio militum de Vetere feffamento—xxix milites.

old age, being still alive in 1202. She finally died without leaving issue by any of her three husbands.

We can reckon her age closely by means of her sister's known age; and, therefore, the length of her reign at Painswick. In Grimaldi's *Rotulus de Dominabus* (1185) we read:—

“Agnes de Muntchenesey est in donacione Domini Regis et est LX. annorum, que (fuit) filia Pagani filii Johannis, et habet iii filios, primogenitus vocatur Radulphus (Ralph), et secundus Willelmus, qui ambo sunt milites: tertius vocatur Hubertus, et est clericus . . . et dicta Domina tenet de Radulpho, filio suo.”

Agnes was thus born in 1125. Cecilia, her elder sister, was married in 1136, being probably about 14 years of age. Consequently, she had attained four-score years when she died. But her sister survived her many years.

Until Cecilia died, half of Painswick remained her own property: that is to say, during the rest of the twelfth century. Her sister, Agnes, evidently a widow in 1185, is shown to be in the guardianship of the King: and thus she might still be sought in marriage, according to Feudal regulations, and given away by him, though probably no lord could decently press her into re-marriage. What property she held here and elsewhere, as the widow of William (I.) de Monchensi, she then held from her son Ralph; but Ralph did not live to inherit the whole of Painswick from his aunt Cecilia and his mother Agnes, though he certainly superintended the Manor for both, as its Lord, and, as such, he obtained special privileges from Henry II.

A Charter of King John, confirming a gift of land and advowson at Ketebrok (? Kidbrook), by Cecilia, to the Prior and Canons of St. Mary Overie, at Southwark, mentions William de Monchensi, her nephew and heir, as having confirmed her gift. (Cf. *Monasticon Angl*: p. 86, Vol. III). Of course, the right to inherit came through Agnes, though she never personally handed on more of the Manor of Painswick than her own marriage-portion in it; being nearly eighty years of age when her sister Cecilia died (c. 1203). Men lived usually short lives in the middle ages, but it seems octogenarian ladies were not rare, at least in Painswick.

Ralph de Monchensi must have died 1186-90, for in the latter year, William de Monchensi II. paid Relief (Succession duty), for the

estate of his brother. His mother Agnes held hence forward from him. He married a sister of William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, and died in 1204 (a. 6. John: Rot: Fin. p. 227), leaving issue, William (III.) and Warine. In the 'Testa de Nevill' (1191) we find:—

“Willielmus de Mundchensi tenet Wykham pro Servizio unius hide,” *i.e.*, Painswick, ‘for the service of one Hide,’ the same assessment as at Domesday, a hundred years, and more, previous.

This document gives us an example of the transitional form ‘Wickham,’ which shows that Wyke or Wick was added to, though not long retained by, the Saxon Ham, here; and Painswick had not yet grown into its present fixed form, though people probably already distinguished it as Pain’s Wyke in parlance: Pain Fitz-john’s manorial ‘Castellulum’ (or Castle) probably surviving for some time.

So that even in King John’s reign Painswick was called ‘Wykeham.’

We may now observe another fact; namely, that, although William de Monchensi was described as the heir to his aunt, Cecilia, he actually held Wyke in her lifetime “for the service of one Hide.” This means that Cecilia had passed it over to him as her heir male; albeit, she herself duly appears paying scutage on her Kentish lands in 1201. But he likewise appears on the Roll, evidently as representing her, and with her. (Cf. *Liber Rubeus*, p. 96). (Cecilia) Comitissa Herfordiæ xiiij milites et dimidium, ut iiij = fourteen knights and a half, assessed as four. These were her widow’s share of the 29 Kentish fees which had belonged to her late (third) husband, Walter of Maine.

It has already been noted that her sister, Agnes de Monchensi, likewise enjoyed a long life. We find her living in 1210-12, holding half a fee from the Bishop of Rochester:—

“Agnes de Monte Kanese, dimidium feodum in Heslingham.” (*Liber Rubeus*, p. 473, Kent); at which time she was nearly 90. They had both been born in the reign of Henry I., and it was now nearing that of Henry III.: truly monumental old ladies for those unpleasant times.

William de Monchensi, besides these lands belonging to his aunt, held a vast family Barony, of which Painswick could form but a part. Let us glance for but one moment at the Salopian and Herefordshire Manors of Hugh de Laci and Pain Fitzjohn.¹

Richard I., ann: 9 (1197).

“Willelmus de Monchensi finem fecit cum Domino Rege per cc (200) marcas Argenti pro se et Comitissa Cecilia, matertera sua, pro recto suo habendo de Ludelawe,² cum pertinentiis et de Wibelay (Weobley)³ et de T. . . cas, cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, Et Willelmus predictus intravit ad predictum debitum solvendum. Predictus Willelmus et Comitissa posuerunt loco suo Willelmum de Manerio, et Gilbertum Russel, ad lucrandum, vel perdendum.”

This William, therefore, managed his ancient aunt's possessions for her, she having relapsed into widowhood for the third time some years previously.

Agnes de Monchensi had held £15, or 15 librates, in Kent, in 1186-7 (33 Hen. II.) In 1210 (Liber Rubeus, p. 496), we find William de Monchensi, her son,⁴ holding Hanegefeld in Essex, as part of the family Barony, ‘per ij milites,’ also a fee in Bike, Lincolnshire, of the Honour of Richmond (Lib. Rub., p. 520); half a fee in London (p. 541), and a fee of the Honour of Henry, Earl of Essex (de Mandeville) (p. 597). There were also two knights' fees owned by him in Norfolk (p. 480).

In 1212, William III. de Monchensi died, and his brother and heir Warine, gave a fine for livery of the whole inheritance of 2,000 marks⁵ to the king, while his uncle, the Earl of Arundel, and James Le Savage, gave Warine's agreements to the King, in order that the properties might be quit of all debts then owing to the Jews.⁶ (Cf. Pipe Roll. 16 John. Kent). Warinus de Montchenesi

1. Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 21.

2. Ludlow.

3. Hugh de Laci I. is believed to have been interred at Weobley.

4. He had succeeded his father William II. in 1204.

5. A mark was worth 13s. 4d.

6. This probably represents one-fourth the annual value of Warine's Barony.

reddit compotum de MM. marcis pro habendo terra sua que eum hereditarie contingit, et ut quietus sit de omnibus Debitis Judeorum. (Also Rot. de Finibus p. 227).

This included Painswick, and during his tenure of the Manor for forty years, we learn many fresh facts about it; amongst others that a Market-Fair had been instituted there. In 1213 Warine de Monchensi is at Warwick with his uncle, William, Earl of Arundel.

In the Roll of Fines (p. 227) for the year 1204, this Earl and his ward appear thus: "Comes de Arundel" (William de Albini) habet respectum (respice) de mille marcis² reddendis a festo S. Michaelis Ann. Reg. Dom. Regis sexto in V. annos pro habendo custodia terræ et hæredis Willelmi de Munchensi."

We see here an instance of the wardship of the heir permitted on certain terms to the kinsman of the heir by the Sovereign. William, the Earl, was, in addition, a powerful minister of the Crown.

Within a few years of Warine's succession to his honours, we obtain rather a sinister glance at the state of public security in Painswick in particular, and of that of the County of Gloucester in general. The Pleas of the Crown present us with the following gruesome occurrences:

"Miscreants came by night to the house of Geoffrey, son of Godwin, of Wyke, and killed him, his wife, Maud, his mother, Edith, and his two sons, and a daughter. It is unknown whom they were. Englishry not presented."³

Again, the same year (2):

"Malefactores venerunt ad domum Ricardi filii Nicholai (Richard Fitz-Nicolas), et occiderunt ipsum Nicholum et uxorem suam, et filium ejus, scilicet quotquot fuerunt in domo illa. Nullus malecreditus: Englisheria non fuit presentata: et ideo tria murdra."

1. William de Albini, Earl of Lincoln, had been made Earl of Arundel in Sussex by a Charter of Henry II., 1155. The present Earl was his son, whom we see abandoning the cause of John against Louis of France in 1216.

2. £666 13s. 4d.

3. Englishry (*i.e.*, English nationality) had to be proven by kinsfolk of the victim: two males on the father's side, and one male on the mother's. The unknown murderers in this case were regarded as foreigners. The village would be fined for the dead bodies until the criminals were found.

And (3)

“Burgatores’ (burglars) venerunt ad domum Ricardi Rugge’ de Wyke, et ipsum et uxorem suam, et totam familiam suam ligaverunt: (tied up the entire household) et nullus venit preter ipsum Ricardum, quia nullus attachiatus fuit. (No one appeared in the matter except Richard, for no one was caught). Nullus inde male creditur, et ideo nichil.”

It is evident these wholesale family murders were done by gangs of robbers. In fact, the late Professor Maitland, writing of the Roll of Pleas, whence these cases are presented, says: “It bears witness to an enormous mass of violent crime: but in far the greater number of cases, either no person is suspected of the crime, or the suspected person has escaped, and no more can be done than to outlaw him.” (Cf. p. xxxiii.)

It is necessary to bear in mind, while thinking of our own days, that at that period there was no professional police. The townships were bound to present crimes committed within their survey at the local Courts, but there was no Governmental police. In many Manors these Trials were held at the Hall-moot (Hali-mote). Pecuniary penalties or amercements had the effect of keeping alive a strong sense of duty. The money went to the Treasury. Every man carried a knife (cniphatum: canif.)

Sir Warine presently married Joan, fifth daughter of Ansfrid Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, an adviser to the young King, Henry III. We next see him carrying through a contest with the Priory of ‘Llantony secunda,’ concerning certain rights connected with the advowson of Painswick Church, which was possessed by the Prior and Convent aforesaid. This ended in an amicable agreement, but although the matter has already received notice in the History of that Church (p. 14), it may find proper mention here.

“Recognitio Magnæ Assizæ facta est inter nos (Prior et Conventus Lantonæ apud Gloucestriam) et Warinum de Monte Canisio in Curia Domini Regis, et ibi Dictus Warinus remisit et quietum clamavit nobis successoribus nostris advocationem dictæ Ecclesiæ (De Wyke). Et nos concessimus dicto Warino et

1. Breakers into the Burgh or Borough property.
2. Another local place-name—The Rudge.

hæredibus suis admittere tres idoneos clericos ad Canonicos faciendum in Ecclesia Lanthonæ, ita quod uno mortuo alter admittendum ad celebrandum divina pro anima ejusdem et antecessorum ejusdem, et ut die Anniversarii Willelmi de Monte Canisio patris dicti Warini pascamur mille pauperes ita quod quilibet pauper habebit vinum, panem, ad valentiam unius oboli singulis annis in perpetuum, per visum Decani Gloucestræ." (Registrum Lantonæ, at Cheltenham).

By this document is shown how Warine released and surrendered the advowson of Painswick Church to the Prior and Convent of Llantonny Secunda: though it is not clear to us upon what ground he can have contested their right to it, seeing that it had been given by Hugh de Laci and confirmed to them by Warine's intermediate ancestors. The Prior and Convent in return agree to admit three priests to be Canons in their Convent in order to be able fitly to celebrate Masses for the souls of Warine and his ancestors. Moreover, on the anniversary of the death of William de Monchensi, Warine's father, they promised to feed with bread and wine of the value of an obolus (half-penny) one thousand poor persons. John de Norwich was the Prior, and this agreement was made before the Justice, William de Culewich, in the King's Court, February 9th, 1237.¹

But it is time to ask if there are any documents extant which can throw light on the precise position occupied by these later De Monchensi lords toward the lands which they held in chief from the King? For such properties were sometimes held subject to various fines and burdens, while others were specially exempt from these, or from some of these. Fortunately, a document, dating November 15th, 1280, Westminster, bears a direct retrospective value for the question in point. It runs thus:—"Whereas Henry II. (1154-1188) by charter granted to Ralph de Monchensi, kinsman of William de Monchensi (1280), whose heir he (*i.e.*, the latter) is, that his lands and men should be quit of shires, and hundreds, and suits, and his days, and all plaints that belong to the shires and hundreds, except murder and treasure; and the said William de Monchensi and his ancestors, by reason of such grant, had the

1. Cf. *Pedes Finium. Glos: Hen: III., No. 217.* The agreement seems to have been observed down to the Dissolution. (Cf. *Valor Eccles: Vol. 2.*)

views of Frank-Pledge and the Sheriff's turn in all their lands, and fees until the King (Edward I.) deraigned the said View and Turn of their men and tenants in the County of Kent, which are estimated at 8s. 3½d. yearly, before the justices last in Eyre in that county, against the said William (de Monchensi) by reason of the abuse of the said liberties; the King now restores the same to him and grants that, although the said William and his ancestors have far from fully used the said liberties, he may now fully use them and have the same View (of Frank-Pledge) and Turn at a yearly rental of 8s. 3½d. (Calend: Pat. Rolls. 1280, p. 404, Memb. 1).

This may be supplemented by another document relating to the same William (son of Warine) de Monchensi, dated Edward I. a. 4 (= 1275). It is from the 'Hundred Rolls' (Rot: Hundredorum).

They aver that the same Lord William de Monchensi "claims to exercise in his Manor of Payneswicke Assise of Bread and Ale, View of Frank-Pledge, Gallows, tumbrel, pillory, and Suit of four Tithingmen of the Hundred (Bisley) in the Hundred where all these rights are exercised."

He was then summoned before the King's Justice (Inge) to declare "by what warrant he exercised these rights, and also Free-Warren, in that Manor." He then answered by his attorney that Henry II. had granted these rights to his ancestor, Sir Ralph de Monchensi, whose heir he is. (Cf. *Placita de Quo Warranto*).

These Rights, which had been allowed and confirmed by Henry III., 29th July, 1244, at Woodstock, were again allowed and confirmed by Edward I., 10th September, 1284, at Winchester.

This renders it clear that Painswick, at any rate from Henry II. onward, was an important Manor, in which the successive lords of the family exercised (holding from the King in chief) full magisterial powers in the administration of Justice: moreover, that already it was constituted of four tithings, or local sub-divisions, or areas, for that especial purpose, and we know by later Rolls of the Manor, what these four tithings were: namely, Spoonbed, Edge, Shepescombe, and Stroud-end. Here it will be well to

1. Et quesitum fuit ab eo si habeat furcas, et alia judicialia (Rot. 8 d p. 251).

append a valuable note of Professor Maitland's: "Theothinga, thethinga, and tithinga: decenna: an Association of ten people whose duty it is to bring to justice those charged with crime. The town (Villata) should provide that all its residents belong to such an association, else the town will be amerced itself. This does not refer to the territorial district, at least, primarily . . . It was the Sheriff's duty to hold a view of Frank-Pledge, *i.e.*, to see that such associations were in existence, and to amerce the townships. In many Manors the view of Frank-Pledge was in the lord's hands." We have, therefore, seen that this was so in Painswick.

The tithingman was a sort of magistrate of the people's own election, and responsible for them. He was to present any crimes committed among them to the Lord of the Manor, at his Court-Leet; therefore, he stood as their Pledge or Surety. It must not be forgotten that these judicial powers exercised by the Lord of the Manor were also to his pecuniary advantage; and he was empowered to make his own bye-laws. In certain Manors the Sheriff took the place of the Lord of the Manor, but in the lord's absence his presidency were usually delegated to his Reeve,¹ or to the Steward of the Manor.

But, besides the Views of Frank-Pledge, held from time to time (usually twice a year), at which misdemeanours and crimes were bound to be prosecuted, there were held the Courts-Leet, with jury, for Criminal Jurisdiction. If the lord had a grant of View of Frank-Pledge his tenants were released from attendance at the Sheriff's tourn." (Stubbs: Const. Hist. vol. I., 431). "There is no doubt that the same principles of legal procedure were used in these as in the popular Courts: the juratores and judices were there as well as in the Shire and the Hundred; compurgation and Ordeal; fines for non-attendance; the whole accumulation of ancient custom as well as Norman novelty. They were, in fact, public jurisdictions vested in private hands, descending hereditarily with the hereditary estate, and only recoverable by the Crown, either by forcible resumption of the estates, or by a series of legal enactments such as reduced the dangers of private authority by increasing the pressure of central administration." (*idem.*)

1. Prepositus.

We can, therefore, picture to ourselves a time when Painswick, in addition to a manorial castle near the small Norman Church, saw the severe justice of mediæval days administered in her midst by means of gallows, fire-and-water-ordeals, branding, flogging and fining. The stocks and the whipping-post were the latest remnants of these ; and the last 'edition' of the Stocks¹ is still with us (1907).

Of the minor and usual misdemeanours inquired into by such Courts with their Jurors and Constables, may be mentioned, encroachments on highways, or obstructions, diversions of watercourses, fouling of springs, neglecting to lop trees, ill-conducted ale-houses, stealing of timber, game, and small assaults. These continued to be dealt with by those Courts long after the more serious crimes had been turned over to the Assizes and the powers of dealing with them had passed away from Manor-Lords.

But the Manorial Court 'par excellence' was, of course, the Court Baron, or Hall-moot, "the ancient gemot of the township, in which bye-laws were made, and other local business transacted." This was a Court of Homagers, or Copy-holders of the Manor presided over by the Reeve or Prepositus, the Steward of the lord. It had two purposes : one to receive the rents due to the lord, and the other to inquire into the condition of the estates held by Copy of Court-Roll, under the lord, or on lease from him, or, in later days, by tenants at will. Among other things the Homage present the death of any Copy-holder who was recently deceased, so that the heir-at-law or devisee may come into Court and be duly admitted tenant in his place, or, if he has left a widow, that she may be admitted a tenant for her free-bench, *i.e.*, as long as she remains a widow and chaste. On the death of any Copy-holder, proclamation of his death is made in open Court by the Bailiff (Reeve) at three successive courts, and if no one comes at one of these courts and claims admission to the Copyhold, the same becomes forfeited to the Lord of the Manor. The Homage also present all encroachments upon the waste or commonable lands within the Manor, or trespassing upon the lord's demesne, removal of boundaries, exchanges, waste committed by Copy-holders, non-repair of Copyhold houses, cutting timber

1. Iron ones, made A.D. 1840 (?) Last used 1861 (?).

without leave, forfeiture on conviction of felony, &c.; they also declare the dropping of the lives for which the Copy-holds are held.

In addition to the Copy-holders and Lease-holders of the Manor, there are the tenants at will, who occupy, generally at nominal rents, either cottages originally built by themselves or their parents, upon the waste lands, or small allotments of pasture or arable land. (Cf. Gloucester Notes and Queries, Vol. IV. 29, by Charles Scott).

The arrangement of Painswick, then, in the 13th century was of this kind.—It was a village with manorial demesne lands at Ifold, Washwell, Duddescombe, and Ham, and it was surrounded by strips of arable land, meadow, and woodland, on which stood the dwellings of the Copy-holders. In the centre was a small Norman Church (possibly Saxon), a Church House, and probably Pain Fitz-John's 'Castellum' near it, now belonging to the lord, Sir Warine de Monchensi. The demesne-lands were for the lord's exclusive use; the area around the castle, or manor-mansion, near the church, was cultivated by his servants. Hence, the names Lord's-Mead and Lady's-Mead still attach to the fields immediately below Castle Hale. The rest of the land was cultivated and farmed by his tenants for themselves or for the lord; and none of them might leave the manor without license; some of them were actual bondsmen, requiring an Act of Emancipation by the lord, and this bondage lasted until even the age of Elizabeth¹ (1574).

Wheat, wool, and cattle, and timber were the chief products of the Manor; there were already several flour-mills by the Frome, down in its valley, that is to say, between Cranham and Strode-end. As the town had a Market-Fair it no doubt had its public baker and bakehouse (furnum), its slaughterer, and ale-taster, also its penfold and sheep-house. The houses were small, of stone, timber and thatch, without glazing or chimneys. In place of the latter, there was merely a flue, or louvre-hole. Aubrey says: "In my own remembrance, before the Civil Wars (*i.e.*, temp. Charles I.), Copy-holders, poor people, had no glass

1. An example of this will be adduced later on.

windows." The floors were probably of stone here, the worse ones only of clay. Around the walls were the sleeping-boxes (bunks) of the family. These were the dwellings of the better class tenants, or *liberi-tenentes*: those of the '*nativi*,' or '*rustici*,' and serfs may be imagined. All were held at the Will of the lord, though custom, growing gradually, proved, ultimately, a means of guiding and limiting that Will.

With regard to the Customs which grew up and became permanent in Painswick, an endeavour will be made to treat of them in another Chapter.

The main street of the village no doubt traversed the site of the present Bisley Street, called in its first days High Street, and its continuance, North Street (now Gloucester Street). Beyond this the road toward Gloucester in the early fifteenth century was called Barnet Street¹ (now Gloucester Road). New Street itself, much of it, is very old. It existed in that name in 1426, but probably was young then, and of secondary importance. The Wick Street, with Steppingstone Lane, from Stroud as already stated, was an old Roman track. There was a High Cross in High Street,² and another Cross in St Mary Street, besides (outside) Damsels' Cross, while an Alban's Cross, before 1440, stood near Paradise, and was possibly the same with Damsels' Cross. The road to Paradise left Painswick at a point in what is now Gloucester Street, much further North than the modern one, and it may be traced along the edge of the common just below the road made by the late Mr Hyett to the cemetery.

But over and above the folk mentioned previously, there were other, or sub-infeudated, tenants on the Manor, holding considerable lands from the lord. These were often well-to-do younger sons of knightly, or noble families.

In this particular Manor, at this period, there were two sets of lands, which had been granted to the Church by De Laci and Pain Fitzjohn. The larger portion went with the Advowson of the Church to the Prior and Convent of Llantony secunda at

1. A. 8. Hen. VI. Will: Hutchins surrenders a cottage in the place called Barnet Street, in the North part of the town, between the New Hall and the tenement of Richard Parton.

2. High Street means the principal street.—*Alta Via*=High-way.

Gloucester ; the smaller, consisting of a virgate, or yard-land (*i.e.*, 30 acres), with two tenements and messuages thereto belonging to the Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester. To the latter went also two tithes of sheaves and two portions of small tithes. It was this possession which raised the 40s., an annual pension due by the gift of Walter de Laci I. to St. Peter and St. Guthlac at Hereford, over which Priory the Abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, exercised proprietary rights. Warine de Monchensi confirmed this grant, circa 1235, as may be seen in the 'History of St. Mary at Painswick,' (p. 18): and the land lay up at Ebbworth and in the Slad vale (Abbey Farm).

In the following century it will be found that a third monastic establishment acquired lands and a mill (Seagrims) at Painswick, a little beyond the present Sheephouse. This was the Priory of Flanesford, near Goodrich, Co. Hereford. The Prior of Llantony's lands and Combe House, chiefly lay between Painswick and the Edge ; and these properties respectively amounted in time to small manors in themselves.

The appearance of the populace in street and lane was thus diversified by the presence of Austin Canons and Chantry-Priests (one of the former of whom was always the Vicar of Painswick), and sometimes by the Benedictines of St Peter's Abbey, at Gloucester.

Chaucer gives us a sketch of an Austin Canon encountered on the highway :

Ere we had riden fully five myle,
At Baghton under Blee' us gan atake
A man, that clothed was in clothes blake,
And underneath he hadd a whyt surplice.

.

And in myn herte wondren I bigan
What that he was, til that I understood
How that his cloke was sowed to his hood ;
For which, when I had longe avysed me,
I deemed him some Chanon for to be.

.

1. Blean, forest.

A clote-leaf¹ he hadde under his hood
 For swoot, and for to kepe his heed from hete,
 But it was joye for to seen him swete.
 His forehead dropped as a stillatorie. . . .

(The Canon's Yeoman's Prologue, *Canterbury Tales*).

The Canons, in addition, wore a long black cassock and a leather girdle with gypciere, or purse. As the Parish Priest of Painswick enjoyed a well-endowed living, and belonged to a rich priory, we may take it that he was given to hospitality, we trust to the poor as well as rich; and that his Church and residence were well looked after. As, even in the 12th century, there was at least one Chantry Chapel annexed to it, there will have been a Chantry Priest of the same Order of Canons, who probably gave his share to the parochial work, and may be, was required to help in the Cure of souls. Besides these, there was the Capellanus, or domestic chaplain of the lord, who celebrated daily mass in the manorial chapel.

The Church celebrations with processions on festival days,² no doubt brought many people in their best array to the centre of the little town; but the favourable moment, above all, wherein to see it must have been the Market Fair day, held twice in the year, for which license had been obtained from the Crown, under Henry II., if not under Stephen. The right to hold a Fair was a much coveted one, and, to the Lord of the Manor—as well as to the place itself—very profitable. For he levied toll upon all merchandise brought thither for sale. This was held at the space around the cross, and to it flocked sellers and buyers, the local squires or their factors, and the business-folk from the farms, with their live-produce, their cereals, and fruits, and also the less-serious pleasure-seekers. There were erected stalls and booths (likewise paying toll), where the small wares of every description, as well as food and drink, were retailed to a motley crowd. Bows and arrows from across the Severn, badger skins, shad and lampreys from Gloucester, and even salmon, salt brought in wagons from Droitwich, pottery from Cranham and Greet, cups,

1. Burdock.

2. During such processions the children clustered around the crosses and fountains (conduits) in the villages.

dishes, bottles, cloth, trinkets, tools, and live-stock—might all be seen jostling one another, while men, women, and children, of all degrees, made the place resound with their chatter, over which some lusty pedlar could be heard advertising his unimpeachable wares from Bristol; or, some Bisley farmer having a serious altercation with a Painswick rival, the villagers expecting a 'row.' In those days, when every man wore a knife, blood-drawing was as common, or commoner, than it now is in parts of Italy. Hence '*effusio sanguinis*' is a familiar phrase in old Manorial Rolls.

CHAPTER V.

THE LATER DE MONCHENSIS—THE FAIR—THE PARK—A CRIME AT PAINSWICK—WM. DE VALENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE— EDGORTH—THE DE HELIONS.

Warine de Monchensi remained Lord of Painswick from 1213 until his death in 1252 (?) having given a fine for livery of the whole inheritance (Dec. 23, 1213), and paying a compotus of 1,000 marks in order to be free from debts to the Jews, (Cf. Pipe Roll, a. 16 John: Kent); and his maternal uncle William, Earl of Arundel, and John Le Savage, drew it up for the king's signature, which it then received at the Tower of London. (Cf. Rot de Finibus, p. 227). He, of course, held many lands out of Gloucestershire, in Suffolk (Cf. Testa de Nevill, v. 2, 319 and Liber Rubeus, p. 741), Norfolk (Hotcham and Herebroc), Bucks (Derington), Essex (Fordham and Thurinton) and Kent (Ludesdon and Hertle). He was seized of all these as parts of his BARONY at his decease, and of the Market-Fair of the Manor of Wyke (Painswick) Glos.: (Cf. Cal. Inquis.: Post Mortem (252) p. 79, a. 37, Henry III. = 1252.) He married twice, and his first wife (c. 1220) was Joan, youngest and fifth daughter of Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, by whom he had John, who pre-deceased him (D.N. Biog.), Joan, who married (1247) William de Valence (half-brother of King Henry III.), and William de Monchensi, his heir and successor.

A suit brought by him in 1232,¹ in which he traced to Cecilia [Fitzjohn] Countess of Hereford, has been already referred to. Warine exercised Franc-pledge, Assize of bread and beer, gallows, pillory and timbrel, and had a suite of 4 tithing-men in

1. WARINE De Monchensi

brought a suit in Easter Term, 1232, in which he traced to Cecilia, [Comitissa Herefordiæ] as his ancestress, "et quia obiit sine herede de se, descendit jus terræ illius cuidam Agneti ut sorori et Heredi [a gap] et quia ipse Wilhelmus obiit sine herede de se, descendit jus terræ illius isto Warino ut fratri et Herede suo."

his manor of Payneswick (Cf. Rot. Hundredorum A. 4, Edw. I. (1275), in right of his ancestors there. The Register of Llantonny at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, shews that he conceded and confirmed to the Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester, and to the Prior and Convent of St. Guthlac at Hereford, two sheaves of corn from Painswick, with one virgate of land and two messuages (at Ebbworth,) together with two portions of small tithes. (See Hist. of the Church of St. Mary at Painswick). He also (see Chap. IV.) arrived at an especial agreement with the Prior and Convent of Llantonny, at Gloucester, regarding the Advowson² of the Church of Painswick and the celebration of the anniversary of his father's death.

The market-day was Thursday, (not, as later, Tuesday), and the Fair at Painswick was of three days' duration, on the Vigil and morrow of the Feast of the Assumption.

Warine distinguished himself by personal valour at the battle of Saintes, 1243, when the English were worsted.

In later life Warine married a second time ; but beyond the fact that his wife's name was Dionysia, her parentage is not known. (Cf. Rot. Chart., A. 29, Hen. III., p. 59). At that period he was Warden of Rochester Castle (A. 34, Hen. III.) and he is found pursuing a policy of conciliation between the opposed forces of the Court and the Barons. Matthew of Westminster calls him a noble Baron. "The noblest and wisest of all the nobles of England, by name, Warine de Monchensi, died, and the King conferred the guardianship of his heir (William) on his own (uterine) brother, William de Valence, who had married the daughter of the said Warine." Nothing so felicitously enriched the Crown in those greedy days as the long minorities of heirs to great estates, and we may safely conclude that the King and his half-brother made goodly profits, both by the marriage of Joan and the wardship of this youthful William de Monchensi. It led, however, as we shall see, to complications. At his death Warine left a fortune of 200,000 marks—the equivalent of £133,333 6s 8d (or more) of our money.

In 1250, the estates of Joan de Monchensi were granted to her husband, William de Valence. Eight years later (1258) when hatred of the alien magnates had culminated to another

national crisis, the King had been coerced into decreeing that a fixed sum only should be granted to his French half-brothers, Guy and William de Valence. The latter then fled the wrath of the people, leaving his wife behind. The lady Joan, however, managed to secrete a sum of 500 marks from her estate in wool-packs (? Cotteswold) and travelling in a 'quadriga longa,' or four-wheeled chariot, contrived to join her husband; an incident which provoked so much indignation that an inquiry had to be held. (Cf. Expenses Roll, A. 23-24, Edw. I.)

Warine was succeeded (in 1252) by his son William (sometimes called Fitz-Warine) in his Painswick and other manors, which the latter held until his death in 1287. His widow, Dionysia, survived until after 1290, as will appear. William himself was killed by the sudden collapse of a wall at Drosilan (Dryslwyn, Co: Carmarthen) Castle, together with many other knights and squires (Cf. Annal: Wigorn p.493). "*Suffodiendi muris oppressit.*"¹

When the great Barons' War began, William de Monchensi had been found on the Baronial side, though later he prudently signed the Act of Pacification. He fought at Lewes, but was captured with Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, at Kenilworth, the De Montfort stronghold, and sent to Gloucester Castle by Edward. Nevertheless, in 1275, we find him pardoned and restored, holding the town of Painswick, with all the manorial privileges of his father. (Cf. Feudal Aids, p. 236). He had seen his guardian and brother-in-law, William de Valence, hounded out of the realm in company of his sister and many more. He married Dionysia, daughter of Nicholas de Anesty, who conveyed to him the Essex Manor of Great Braxted, and by her had issue another William, who died 1289, and Dionysia, the younger.

A scandal, however, had arisen in 1283. He had, perhaps, put away his wife Dionysia, and had been living with Amy, relict of John de Hull. These were cited as living in concubinage by the Bishop of Worcester, and William was accused of holding

Northampton.

1. 16, EDW. I. (60) (p. 396, Feudal Aids) 1287

WILL. DE M. defunctus

De secta ad quondam furnum in manu Regis existentem occasione mortis dicti W. de Monte Canisio.

her in concubinage. He denied this, and said he had lived with her rather as his wife, but had had a daughter called Dionysia, whom he now declared to be legitimate by authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (Cf. Register Bp. Gifford, p. 308½-9, at Worcester).

The death of Sir William, in 1289, gave the De Valences their desired opportunity to try and seize the possessions of the senior branch of De Monchensi from Dionysia, his daughter, although she had now become King Edward's ward. Accordingly, they (being Earl and Countess of Pembroke) brought a Petition¹ to Parliament, as to who should lawfully inherit the estates of William de Monchensi, lately deceased, and they desired to have the Archbishop of Canterbury's pronouncement upon the question, their intention being to prove Dionysia the younger a bastard. The elder Dionysia came into Court to plead for her grand-daughter. The latter was declared to have been born in the Diocese of Worcester (probably at Payneswick), and it was shown that the late Sir William de Monchensi regarded her clearly as his daughter and heiress. The Bishop of Worcester and the Archbishop pronounced in her favour. (Cf. Placita in Parl., A. 18, Edw. I., 1290). There would seem to have been considerable wire-pulling in the affair! Probably the Prelates had pressure put upon them by the King himself, and certainly the Earl was not popular. (Cf. Inquisition P.M. in Cal. Genealog: p. 168, 70).

There are one or two interesting references to Painswick Manor during Sir William's lifetime. (1) Oct. 1, 1283. Commission of Oyer and Terminer to William de Hamelton and William de Agmondesham, touching the persons who broke into the Parks of William, son of Warine de Monchensi at Wynmerfarthing, Co. Norfolk, and Payneswick, Co. Gloucester,

1. Petitiones in Parlamento, 1290.

Supplicatio of William de Valence and Joan, his wife, (Earl and Countess of Pembroke) as to who should rightly succeed to the possessions of William de Monchensi. The King, whose ward Dionysia is, disallows their plea.

"Inhibitum est eidem Willielmo [de Valencie] quod predictam appellationem ante etatem predictæ Dyonisie nullo modo proseguatur."

Placita in Parlamento

18, Edw. I. (1290)

and there, and in the said William's free warren at Swanescamp, Co. Kent, hunted and carried away deer, hares and rabbits. (2) At Painswick, William le Warrener and Thomas le Cleye and others, his officials, have laid hands on a certain tenant of the Lord of the Manor, by name John Dod, and him they not only have beaten with blows, but they have applied fire to his feet, and afterwards carried him to the Castle at Gloucester, where they bribed the Constable with half-a-mark to take him in, although lacking the license of the Bailiff of the Hundred (of Bisley.) The man Dod's offence is not stated, but only this most unlawful proceeding, which, of course, does discredit to the Lord of the Manor. Such crimes must be ascribed to the years of neglect and absence of the Lord from his Manor during the late Civil Wars. As this Manor enjoyed the almost absolute jurisdiction of its Lord, had he been there, it is safe to conclude these rapacious officials would not have dared to molest a tenant in such a scandalous way.' It is probable that Dutchcombe, formerly Dodscomb (and Duddescomb) retains the name of this same tenant. We have also Dodsmead and Cleyecroft. The Manor, at this period, was worth £60^s per annum. In 1287, we find William de Monchensi among those gone to war into Wales (July 24) on the King's service, with an Order of Protection. A month later he died of the accident stated, at Drosilan. His mother Dionysia was granted custody of certain of his lands,

1. *Calendarium Genealogicum.*

(*Incerti temporis Henry III.*) (70)

"Inquisitio facta per preceptum domini Regis de terris et tenementis compertis in Hundredo de Bysele pro — de — Stepheni de Eggesworth, (Edgeworth,) Ric: de Albenasse, Jacob: de Pagenhulle (Paganhill,) Will: Hinder, Gilb: Melewine, Joh: Attestenentgate, Ric: de Elmesdale, Will: de la Strode, (*i.e.*, "of Stroud,") Rob: le Gore, and Rob: le Frankeleyn, — qui dicunt super sacramentum sanctum quod terra Willi: de Monte Canisio de Payneswike occupata per Johannem Giffard, valet p.a. LX. li. Et habebat ibidem de Redditu instantis termini Sancti Michaelis XIIli. XIIIjs, VIIIId. Et de Wychenyeld (?) in eodem termino VIIIli. Dicunt etiam quod Johannis Gifford (of Brimsfield) occupavit terram Henrici de Penebrugge in Wineston, et valet p.a. VI. IIIIt. Et habebat ibidem de Redditu Assisæ instantis termini Sancti Michaelis XVIIIIs. Et terræ predictæ assignatæ sunt custodiendæ — Rich: de Budesend et Will: Hinder."

It shows that John Gifford (1) of Brimsfield occupied Painswick during a certain period, which he probably farmed for De Monchensi.

This Document must date after 1253, as it refers to William, who succeeded Warine de Monchensi. Probably it belongs to the period of his imprisonment after the taking of Kenilworth by Prince Edward.

2. Perhaps £700 to-day.

during the minority of his daughter, the younger Dionysia. We hear nothing of his second wife, Amy de Hull. There is apt, naturally, to arise some confusion here on account of the curious sequence of three Dionysias. It will be best, therefore, to put it in a formula thus:—

Dionysia (1) 2nd wife of Warine de Monchensi, mother of William de Monchensi who married (2) Dionysia (De Anesty) and had (3) Dionysia de Monchensi.

No sooner was the awkward petition of the Earl and Countess of Pembroke dismissed than the King decided to give the little Dionysia in marriage to his yeoman, Hugh de Vere (June 19, 1290, Westminster). And on July 16th a mandate to the grandmother as her guardian was issued that she should permit the espousal to take place (*fidem sponsalium dari et assecurari permittatis*) since King Edward has granted the marriage.

In 1291 (Jan. 16, Westminster) we have a Confirmation to the Executors of the Will of Eleanor, the King's Mother, of the yearly farm which Dionysia de Monchensi (the elder), R. de Coggeshale and Wm. Haste were wont to pay for the custody of the lands of William de Monchensi, tenants in chief, during the minority of Dionysia, his daughter and heiress.

As we have seen, a Park already existed at Painswick in 1260, and a Park usually points to personal residence of the Lord. In the 13th century English civilization felt itself to be many steps in advance of the days of Stephen. Windows were wider, and walls were built less thick and fortress-like. It was the lawless age of Law and the corrupt age of the birth of honest Parliament. Security for life and property had considerably increased. On many Manors, new houses were built in better style than the Castles of Stephen's age, and were fortified.

We do not hear of any further molestation on the parts of William de Valence and his Countess, Joan. The former died in 1296. Joan, (who was also heiress of the Marshals, Earls of Pembroke), continued to live at Goodrich Castle, which her ancestors had built. In the Roll of Knights' Fees she is represented in 1303 (A. 31, Edw. 1) as making the King a donum on the occasion of the marriage of the latter's eldest

daughter, sixty shillings "pro uno feodo et dimidio apud Castrum Godrich," (for 1½ Knights' fees at Goodrich Castle). Their son, Aylmer de Valence, was nevertheless destined to inherit his cousin Dionysia's properties, including Painswick, and to attach his name to the little manor of Moreton, not far distant. An interesting item relating to this Dionysia, Lady of the Manor of Painswick, occurs in the Arundel MSS., No. 220, being a Grammatical Treatise made by "Mounsire Gautier de Bibelsworthe" for "Madame Dyonisie de Mouchensy, pur aprise de language." It is edited by Thomas Wright in his *Vocabularies* (1857).¹

Dionysia de Monchensi in 1295 founded a Convent of Clares at Waterbeche in Essex, with the approval of Pope Boniface VIII. In 1298 occurs a grant by Isabella, daughter of the late William Freeman, widow, to Dionysia de Monchensi, Lady of Braxstede Magna, of the homage and service of Sir Ralph de Monchensi and the Lady Aldreda, his wife.

It is here necessary to note that Edgworth was held (from the De Monchensi) of Painswick. It owned ward and market. The tenants there at this time were Walter de Helion (Elyon) (c. 1284) and Stephen de Edgworth, who held from William de Monchensi for half a fee.²

1. Dionysia held also two fees at Redeswell and half a fee in Patimer, Herts. (Desc. Catal. Anc. Deeds, A. 449).

2. Pat. Roll 1, Edw. I. Appointment of Ralph de Hengham and Walter de Helion to take assize of novel disseizin by Rich. le Bret against Willam Maunsell and others touching a tenement in Pichencombe (Westminster) Jan. 18. Sir William Maunsell owned Lypiatt Manor, and his daughter Nichola married Walter le Bret, son of this Richard. The Le Brets were Lords of Pitchcombe Manor. A Walter le Bret was seized of lands and tenements in Ebbworth worth 40s. a year in trust for the Abbot of Gloucester. 31, Edw. I. (1302). [In 1343 the Abbey of Gloucester was seized of the Manor of Ebbworth, in Painswick]. Appointment of the above to take Assize of Novel Disseizin arraigned by Robert le Gore of Payneswicke against Walter le Bret.

Dionysia de Monchensi also held the Manor of Staunton, Co. Worcester, which was attached to Painswick, and it was held of her by serjeanty, by Peter de Staunton, 16 Edw. I. = 1287 cf. I.P.M. Glos. p. 148.

As the Arms of De Monchensi and De Staunton are found quarterly in the Church at Staunton it is clear that there existed a matrimonial alliance between the two families. Peter de Staunton died in 1287, leaving his son Robert, aged 14 years, his heir. As there were no ladies of this branch of De Monchensi left, but Dionysia, who presently married Hugh de Vere, it is probable that Peter de Staunton himself had married a daughter of Warine de Monchensi, or else had had a mother who was a member of Warine's family.

A. 16, Edw. I. (1287.) Inquisitio post-mortem. Petrus de Staunton qui tennit de Dionisia filia et hærede Willelmi de Monte Canisio in custodia Regis existente. (Wigorn 19).

The Walter de Heliun above-mentioned was an important personage (Arms Or, a buck's head coupé, sable) being one of the King's Justiciaries. The family of Helion held an Honour in Essex in 1210-12. In 1270 he was appointed to settle a dispute between Gilbert de Clare and the Abbey of St. Peter's, Gloucester. He possessed some property also at Churcham. In 1279, he and others sat at the Guildhall, London, to try money-clippers, of whom three Christians and 293 Jews were condemned to be hanged. The Helions remained at Edgeworth Manor, tenants of the Lords of Painswick, holding for half a fee until c. 1350.

Pat. Roll, Edw. I., records that Walterus de Elyun et Stephanus de Eggesworthe tenent de eodem Will: de Monchensi per servicium dim: feodi (c. A.D. 1284). They hold half-a-fee from William de Monchensy.

(1) Escaet, A. 16, Edward III. Walterus de Helyoun. Eggesworth Manerium extent, Panyswike Manerii. (A.D. 1342).

(2) Escaet (p. 104) A. 17, Edward II. Adomaras de Valentia, comes Pembroke, et Maria, uxor ejus, Eggesworth tertia pars Villæ et omnia feoda Tenentur de manerio de Payneswyke.

In 1362 (Escaet p. 248), Robert de Aston and John Cope (fatuus) hold a third part of Edgeworth, as usual, from the Manor of Painswick.

Perhaps the earliest name which occurs as a tenant, at any rate of those names still existing (1904) at Painswick, is that of *Roger Loveday*¹ who was appointed in 1277 custodian of the lands of Sir William de Monchensi, while the latter Knight was beyond seas, "on condition that the bailiffs be not removed, and that his (Sir William's) corn be collected by the said bailiffs and kept in safety until further orders." (July 21, Chester).

As a patrician tenant, one may cite Petronilla de la Mare,² who in 1263 (47, Hen. III.) held of John de Monchensi (Warine's brother, 46s. 8d. of rent per annum in Shepscombe, making two suits of the Court of the said John. She also had in the village of Edgeworth 10s. 6d. yearly rent, which was of the fee of John. Her son and heir was William de la Mare.

1. Arms of Roger Loveday, Barry of 6 Dancettée, or and sable.

2. Perhaps the wife of John de la Mare of Kenrich, or of Peter de la Mare of Cherinton, who died 1292.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WORTH OF THE MANOR—A CAPITAL MESSUAGE—AYLMER DE VALENCE, EARL OF PEMBROKE—SIR RICHARD TALBOT—DAMSELS, SUDGROVE.

In August, 1313, both Hugo de Vere and *Dionysia de Monchensi* died without issue, probably of an epidemic.

“Payneswyk Manerii extenta de Monte Canisii Baronía” (A. 7, Edw. II., No. 51). “There is in the said Manor *a capital messuage* (*i.e.*, The Castle) *with a garden, curtilage and dovecote* which is worth p.a. 3s. and 4d. There are 60 acres of arable land which are worth p.a. 6s., price of the acre 18d.; also 4 acres of pasture, which are worth p.a. 4s., price of the acre 12d. There is there a certain park with wild beasts, the herbage whereof is worth p.a. 6s. and 8d. There are 100 acres of wood, the profit whereof is nothing. There are there *four free tenants*, and they pay p.a. rent of assize 9s. and *50 villeins* who pay £40. The pleas and perquisites of the Court are worth p.a. 20s.” (Cf. *Inq. Post Mortem*, vol. 1., p. 256).

Thereupon *Aylmer de Valence* established his succession and became “*Dominus de Paneswyke*” (cf. *Feudal Aids*, vol. 2, p. 276). He had succeeded to his father, William de Valence, as Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Goodrich, Co. Monmouth, in 1296, and his sister Joan had married John Comyn, ‘the Red.’ In addition he owned Moreton and Whaddon, with an extraordinary accumulation of rich manors elsewhere. His career was entirely a public one, and, except his reputed establishment of Painswick Market-fair, we have little but his name to connect with the lordships of this manor and Morton Valence. His part in the league

1. The Berkeleys, among many others, entertained a grudge against him, for I find the following in the year of his inheriting:—Anno 7, Edward II., Sir Maurice Berkeley and his elder brother, Thomas Berkeley of Bisley; their uncle, John Berkeley of Erlingham; their cousin, Richard Veel, and more than 43 others, riotously entered Painswick Park, making havoc of the deer there, and how unmannerly they afterwards handled the Coroners of that County, when they were to have been outlawed for the said fact, with the issue thereof. (Cf. *The Berkeley Manuscripts*, vol. i., pp. 246, 297).

against Gaveston, and later against the Dispensers, his escaping capture at Bannockburn, his treating for peace with Scotland in 1323, and finally his death in a tournament at *Compiègne*, June 23, 1324¹, are striking incidents in the perturbed history of the reign of Edward II. His marriages brought no children by either of his wives. The last (July, 1322), was Mary de Châtillon, daughter of Guy IV., Count of St. Pol, well-remembered as foundress of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The Earl's body was brought from France to London and buried magnificently in Westminster Abbey, as had been his father's.

The Dispensers had hated and opposed Aylmer de Valence so much as to become credited with being the cause of his death by treachery. Their avaricious hands, not content with vengeance of this sort, now seized upon his niece and heiress, Elizabeth Comyn, and endeavoured to levy a forced fine upon her great manors of Painswick² and Castle Goodrich. As she refused to

1. MANDEVILLE, 17, Ed. II. (1324). Robert de Mandeville (d. 1349) paid for license to the King 5 marks to receive certain lands and tenements in Pitchcombe from Walter de Wylton and Isabella, his wife.

An Inquisition taken before Simon Wassett, escheator of the Lord the King at Pinchincumbe on Friday next after the feast of the Ascension in the 22nd year of the reign of King Edward the Third after the conquest by virtue of a writ of the Lord the King, &c., &c., that on the day of his death, Robert de Mandeville held two virgates of land, with appurtenances of the lord *Richard Talbot* within *Painswick* by the service XIVd., p.a., but worth Xs. per annum, and they say that the said Robert died on Wednesday, May 7, and that John, his son, is the next heir and is of the age of 28 years and more.

Thomas de Berkeley as the King's escheator, took the oath of fealty of John de M., son of Robert and Isabella, 30 Edw. III. (1357.) (This is the Th. de B. who built the Chantry at Cubberly).

John de Mandeville d. 1360 (34, Ed. III.) aged 40. (Cal. Inquis: P.M. p. 219.) He was seised of 5 mess., 22 acres, 2 virg. and $\frac{1}{2}$, and 2 acres of wood in Painswick and Edge, which he held of Sir John de Bromwich by the service of XIIIId. p.a., Joan, wife of Wm. de Bockland being sister and heir. She died 1362.

In Henry VI., A.S. (1429). William Cowley holds a parcel of land called "Mandeville's land." There is Mandeville's Orchard, to-day, at junction of Pitchcombe and Painswick.

2. Petitiones in Parlamento. No. 27. Forced Fine. Vol. 2, 22a. Richard and Elizabeth Talbot. (2, Edw. III., 1328).

An're Seignr le Roi et a son Conseil monstrent Richard, fili Gilbert Talbot and Elizabeth sa femme, qe coure ils eussent suy de faire venir devant le Conseil n're Seigneur le Roi a son darrein Parlement a Westm: les transcritz des pietz des deus Fyns pour lequeux Fyns Hugh le Despenser, le piere et le fitz, avoient purchaser les manoir de Payneswyk et Chastell Godrich, de la dite Elizabet, tant come ele fust sole; Et pour enprisonement, et pour duresses, et pour cohercions, tant coure ele demurra en dure prisone a Purfrith, fust la dite Eliz: costreint a faire le reconissances des Fyns avant nomeez, devant Monsire Johan de Bousser, Justice de Bank, q' fust illek mande pur cele reconissance resceure, auxi

pay this, they practically kidnapped her and carried her to their Castle at Purfrith, where, by torture and durance they compelled her to yield, and whither they brought John de Bousser, a Justice of the King's Bench, to witness her reluctant acquiescence in her own spoliation.

Fortunately, the scandal of this episode reached Sir Richard Talbot, son of Sir Gilbert, who, being sworn foe to the Dispensers, undertook to release the Lady Elizabeth, whom, in the absence of the tyrants from Purfrith, he and his men brought securely away. He then married her. In 1328 these two, therefore, bring a Petition to Parliament, before Edward III., praying for the annulment of those formerly Forced Fines. The King granted their request, and the Manor of Painswick by this romantic incident passed into the Talbot family, with whom it was to remain for the next two centuries. (Cf. *Pet. in Parlamento*, vol. 2, 22a, No. 27, 2, Edw. III., 1328.)

The next we learn of the Manor of Painswick under this Sir Richard Talbot (summoned to Parliament as Lord Talbot) is in 1346 (20, Edw. III.) when he obtains Papal permission from Clement VI., at Avignon, on his return from Crecy (?) to found a Priory of Augustinian Canons near Goodrich, at *Flanesford* in the Vale of Wye, below it. Part of its endowment was to be derived from Painswick and Westbury, where henceforward, until the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1539), the Priors of Flanesford held two mills with messuages of the annual value of £6 18s. 8d. King Edward III., while at Eltham, Dec. 8, 1348,¹ granted special license to the Founder for its endowment from his estates, mentioning Payneswyke.

The following item (Court-Roll, a. 18, Henry VI., 1436), locates for us the situation of their property. "The Homage present that Thomas Coleyns has encroached from the land of the manor-

come plus pleynement est trouve est trove par une solempne enqueste prise devant Monsire Johan de Stonore, et autres Justices, solom la forme d'une Comission de ceo fait, quele Comission, ensemblement ove l'enqueste, est returne en la Chauncellerie n're Seigneur le Roi. Par quoi les avantditz Rd. et El. prient, q' la dite enqueste soit vewe, et q' les Fyns avantditz soient anientitz, issint q' les ditz R. and E. aient droit et remedie, solom la forme de la dite ordinance de ceo fait.

Acorde est en la geñal responns, q' le Roi face nom: et assign: Evesques Contes et Barons, de fair execucion de l'estatur, et pur ceo suier.

1. Cf. Patent Rolls, a. 20, Edw. III.

lord upon the ground belonging to the Prior of *Flanesford* above *Seagrimsbridge*.¹ The penalty is to be certified at the next Court." That is where Ayers' timber mill now is.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. (vol. iii.) gives us the subjoined references:—

Flanesford in Dioces' Herefordiæ.

Habet in Payneswyke.

Firma quinque messuagia cum duobus molendinis supra quo dict' messuag' edificantur ibidem, sic dicitur per quondam Priorem ibidem. [Five messuages with two mills under them, it is said, built by a former Prior there].

p. £VI. XVIIIIs. VIIId. [£6 18s. 8d.]

£XV. VIIIIs. IXd. [£15 8s. 9d.]

Spiritualibus, nichil quia null' promot' spiritual' dict' Prioratus partem. Inde reprisæ' (deductions) videlicet detemporalibus.

Feod: *Thome Ball* Balliv: et Collector: dict: reddit: per annum. XXs. [Fee of Thomas Ball, Bailiff and Collector of Rent, 20s].

Spiritualibus nichil, causa superius annotatur. Et valet clare per annum. (Clear annual value.)

£XIII VIIIIs. IXd. [£14 8s. 9d.]

Decima pars [tenth part] XXVIIIIs. X ob: [28s. 10½d.]

The Rolls of the Poll-Tax in Painswick (Cf. p. 95) shew us the name of Seagrim still as that of a copyhold tenant in 1381 [temp: Rich. II.]

Thus, the Augustinian Order came to possess two portions in this manor; for, as we have seen, the Canons of Llantony at Gloucester possessed the Advowson of the Church, and considerable lands in the Ham Combe. (Jenkins' Farm.) (Cf. *Papal Petitions*, Clement VI. *Regesta*, vol. 151. See also Patent Rolls, Edw. III., A. 20). They were Free-tenants and manor-lords.

There is, however, another later reference to Flanesford of interest, in the Patent Rolls, A. 30, Henry VIII., Part 1, in vol. 2, (28.)

This King re-grants to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, in consideration for good and acceptable service rendered, all the site,

1. 1327, Alice and John Segrym paid subsidy in Painswick. This name has a strong smack of Scandinavia, like Hunlaf in Hunlafsed, now Hullasey.

ground, ambit and precinct, of the late Priory of Flanesford, also the Manor or Lordship of Flanesford with appurtenances, in the County of Hereford. Also the Manor or Lordship of [held by Flanesford in] Payneswyke, with appurtenances, in the County of Gloucester; and all rights of patronage of Churches and hereditaments whatsoever, as well spiritual as temporal, of whatsoever kind and nature they may be, situate, lying, or being in Flanesford and Gooderiche, in the County of Hereford, and in *Panneswyke*, Ludbrooke and Manselhope, in the County of Gloucester, which possessions, etc., are of the clear annual value of fourteen pounds, eleven shillings and fourpence as certified in the Exchequer at Westminster. The said Earl to hold these possessions by a 20th part of a knight's fee and by the yearly rent of twenty-nine shillings, three half-pence, and a farthing, as a tenth to be paid at the Court of Augmentation of the Revenues at the feasts of St Michael, the Archangel, and of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by equal portions yearly; also grant to found a chantry in the Church or Chapel of FLANESFORD with a perpetual chaplain. The CHANTRY to be called the Chantry of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, at Flanesford, &c. June 4, 1538.¹

Whether the Black Death scourged Painswick does not appear. Sir Richard Talbot died in 1356² and his widow in 1372, when, in all probability, there was placed in Painswick Church a window bearing their *arms* ("Gules, a lion rampant within a Bordure engrailed, Or; and in a Bordure flory, three Garbs, Or,") which survived the destruction of the old church in 1485-90, and was seen early in the 18th century and described. (Cf. Rawlinson, MS., B. 313, fol. 1203, b. Bodl: Library.)

Richard, Lord Talbot, was succeeded by Sir Gilbert, his son, while his widow married Sir John de Bromwich,³ and Sir Gilbert, her son, married Petronella, daughter of James Butler, Earl of Ormonde.

1. The writer is indebted for this document to the courtesy of the Rev. the Vicar of Goodrich.

2. *ÆSCAET*, 30, EDW. III. (1356,) Richard Talbot then owned Painswick, Morton and Whaddon Manors.

3. This Sir John de Bromwich in 1346 held half a fee at Bromwich in Hants, which had been held by Sir Luke de Bromwich. The Lady Elizabeth died April 17, 1377.)

It would be interesting could we know even the names and bare numbers of all the men of this manor who followed these Talbots to the various French Wars; who drew the bow, and who did, or did not, return to their native village. But the *Poll-Tax Returns*¹ for Painswick, mutilated as they are, are almost our only known resource left for the names of 14th century tenants and vassals. I therefore give the Lay-Subsidy Roll as it stands. In the 'Little Red Book of Bristol' (by Francis R. Bickley, vol. 1, p. 21) under the year 1350 is mentioned *John de Payneswyk*, an elector of Bristol.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{113}{35A}$

"a. 4 Ric: 2. Glouc. 14 loose membs: portions of a Roll of the collection of a Poll-tax granted. a. 4 Ric: 2." (Calendar). A.D. 1381.

HUNDREDUM DE BISELEYE.

VILLATA DE PAYNESWIKKE

De Ricardo Ferthyngale et Felicia vxore eius brasiatore (brewer) ...	ijs.
De Rogero de Combe et Elena vxore eius Cultore terre ...	ijs.
De Simone Taillour scissore (tailor) ...	xijd.
De Johanne serviente eiusdem ...	xijd.
De Willelmo Bras laborario ...	xijd.
De Ricardo Bernard et Bona vxore eius Cultore terre ...	ijs.
De Waltero Skenerel laborario ...	xijd.
De Jacobo Knyt laborario ...	xijd.
De Johanne Toule et Editha vxore eius brasiatore ...	ijs.
De Thoma Skenerel et Margareta vxore eius ...	ijs.
De Sergrym laborario ...	xijd.
De Margareta Colyns vidua et mag(is) suffic(it) ...	iijs.
De Ricardo filio et serviente eiusdem ...	xijd.
De Henrico Taillour sissore et inpotente ...	vjd.
De Johanne Rogers seniore Bercario ...	xviijd.
De Johanne atte Wode laborario ...	xijd.
De ¹ Sponbed schippester ...	xvjd.
De Johanne serviente eiusdem ...	viijd.
De Johanne Rogers juniore laborario ...	vjd.
De Waltero Merymon laborario ...	xijd.
De Johanne Pofforde et Agnete vxore eius Cultore terre ...	ijs.
De Ricardo Webare Carpentario ...	xvjd.
De Johanne serviente dicti Ricardi ...	viijd.
De Johanne Colyns et Johanna vxore eius Cultore terre ...	ijs.
De Ricardo Belamy laborario ...	xijd.

1. Torn away—De Johanne.

De Simone le Havre laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne atte Wiston et Isabella vxore eius brasiatore	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Waltero Heryngs et Agnete vxore eius Cultore terre	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Nicholas Damsel laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Simone atte Wode laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne Lok et Alicia vxore eius brasiatore	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Henrico Salcombe et Felicia vxore eius Cultore terre	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Johanne Hopkins serviente	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne Martyn serviente	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne Crouch laborario	...	...	...	...	...	viijd.
De Roberto Chese serviente	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Willelmo Rogers et Juliana vxore eius Cultore terre	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Johanne Paccare (Mercer)	...	...	...	...	...	xiiijd.
De Isabella serviente eiusdem	...	...	...	...	...	iiijd.
De Johanne le Rene laborario	...	...	...	...	...	viijd.
De Sibilla atte Grove serviente per dictam	...	...	...	...	...	iiijd.
De Johanne Cagge et Juliana vxore eius Cultore terre	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Johanne Gy et Emiagne vxore eius brasiatore	...	...	...	...	...	ijs. vjd.
De Thoma Burgens laborario...	...	...	...	...	...	viijd.
De Rogero Facherel et Juliana vxore eius...	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Johanne Bernard laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Willelmo quondam serviente eiusdem laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Thoma Coppe (s) cissore	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne atte Grone laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne Withur et Elena vxore eius brasiatore	...	...	...	...	...	ijs. vjd.
De Willelmo Bernard serviente	...	...	...	...	...	vjd.
De Johanne atte Halle laborario	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne Gerard serviente	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Agneta Gyde brasiatrice	...	...	...	...	...	xvjd.
De Agneta Pygace serviente per dictam	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Willelmo serviente et filio eiusdem	...	...	...	...	...	xijd.
De Johanne Robart et Agnete vxore eius Cultore terre	...	...	...	...	...	ijs.
De Agnete atte Strode brasiatrice	...	...	...	...	...	xviijd.
De Johanne serviente eiusdem	...	...	...	...	...	²
De Rogero ¹ et Agnete	...	...	...	...	...	²
De ¹ B ¹ Agnete vxore ¹	...	...	...	...	...	²
¹	...	...	...	...	...	²

1. Illegible. 2. Amounts torn away.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{113}{81A}$

"a. 2 Ric: 2. Glouc. 6 loose membs: portions of a Roll of the collection of a Poll tax granted. a. 2 Ric: 2." (Calendar.)

VILLATA DE PAYNESWYK.

Presentatores ibidem dicunt per Sacramentum eorum quod ad primam sessionem plene presentaverunt.

Unfortunately, the events of this tragical 14th century, wars and pestilences, had not worked well for anyone. The Monasteries were in a dilapidated state. The Black Death succeeding to five and twenty good years, had made labour scarce; robbers and vagabonds roamed the land. The price of labour had to be fixed by law. "Not only was the price of labour fixed by the Parliament of 1350, but the labour class was once more tied to the soil. The labourer was forbidden to quit the parish where he lived in search of better-paid employment. If he disobeyed he became a fugitive and subject to imprisonment at the hands of Justices of the Peace. To enforce such a law literally must have been impossible, for corn rose to so high a price that a day's labour at the old wages would not have purchased wheat enough for a man's support." (J. R. Green, *Hist. of England*, chap. iii., p. 431). The highest rate of wages, however, prevailed between the years 1371 and 1390. The rise exceeded by 100% the proportion paid in the preceding century. Wool was seriously depreciated, and upon this the agriculturist depended for foreign trade. The annual export of English wool at this period was 32,000 sacks. Misery of the most abject kind was afflicting England, and a terrific chasm was re-opened between employer and employed, and the oppression of the people contributed greatly to such religious and social outbreaks as those of Wat Tyler, John Ball and Wickliff. "Even in the years of peace fifteenths and tenths, subsidies on wool and subsidies on leather were demanded and obtained from Parliament (for the King and his wars); and at the outbreak of war the Royal Demands became heavier and more frequent." And as this pressure clove the ruling classes themselves in twain, they cast their eager eyes towards the accumulations of the Church. "Out of a population of some three millions, the Ecclesiastics (in England) numbered between twenty and thirty thousand." (Chap. iii., p. 458, op. cit.) But the clergy itself was also deeply divided; the secular from the regular, or Monastic, Clergy, and both these as much as possible eluded the common burdens and anxieties of the people. Their moral authority was naturally not of a high grade.

Painswick doubtless fared no better, perhaps no worse, than her neighbours. We may be sure the manor lord did not escape.

In 1398 (May 6,) King Richard, in return of a loan of a hundred marks from the Prior and Convent of Llantony at Gloucester grants them license to incorporate the three vicarages of St. Owen (at Gloucester,) Prestbury (near Cheltenham,) and Painswick, and to own them to their own use in perpetuity. Of these Painswick yielded the largest sum, namely, ten marks, six shillings and eight pence. (Cf. Patent Roll, 21, Rich: II., Part 3, Memo: 18,) or about one-ninth of the principal of the loan. And, alas, this good money was destined to help Richard a little faster to the tyrannical follies of outlawing seven counties, &c. That, in turn, led to the recall of the banished Henry of Lancaster in order that he should seize upon the throne, and so hasten the King's wretched end.

Looking back into the list of those Painswick payers of Poll-tax, there are a few names that call for notice as having left their mark in fields or farms in the Manor. Segrym has already been adverted to. Heryngs gave name to a farm, of which the site occupied by the 18th century 'Painswick House,' (F. A. Hyett, Esq.), was a part. Martin was represented by a field in Shepscombe, called Martin's. Paccar by another at Spoonbed, called Packer's. Skenerel gave name to Skenerels, held by a Walter Seagrym in 1495. Nicholas Damsel is commemorated still by Damsels.

This land of Damsels, near the Park, has several points of interest about it. It consisted of a toft and half a virgate (15 acres) and an orchard; the former held from St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, for St Guthlac at Hereford; and the latter by the Lord of the Manor of Painswick.

In the Cartulary of Llantony in the P.R. Office, London, Oct. 1, A. 1, Henry V. = 1415) we find

"*Thomas Sudgrove* [who had given 20s. for a license in 1376 (a. 50, Edw. III.) in order to acquire tenements with appurtenances in Painswick¹ of Gilbert Talbot (Chivaler)] and Agnes,² his wife, gave half a virgate and toft lately in the possession of John Damsel, who held it from us and our predecessors (St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester,) there, as from the Church of St Guthlac at

1. Rot: 46.

2. Agnes Sudgrove also owned a property called 'Wythies' which she sub-let to John Carpenter, of Upton St Leonards. (Cf. Cartul: Lantoni f. 122, P.R.O.)

Hereford, which the Prior and Convent demised to farm to the said Thomas and Agnes Sudgrove for six shillings." We have referred to the ancient pension to St Guthlac's laid upon Painswick Church by Walter I. de Laci 1085. Here then is part of the land which yielded it. The sole difference being that the Abbey of St Peter has passed over the responsibility of this portion to Llanton, which held the Advowson of Painswick, a not unreasonable proceeding.

On the same day and year (Oct. 1, a. 1, Hen. V.) William and Matilda, and John *Damsel* (their son) and Ralph Damsel (the latter's son) agree to surrender the property to *John Wych*, Prior of Llanton and his Convent. The property was called '*Sudgroves*' as late as Henry VI., a. 8, after which it became called Damsels.

The facts relative to Damsels seem to be these :

It was granted on the feast of St Valentine, a. 7, Richard II. (1384) to Thomas Sudgrove with three acres, arable and divided, lying in a place called 'Delle' within the Manor of Painswick, including a toft and croft together lying between the land of Michael Dinning and that of John Vachell, and extending from 'Delle' towards the wood called Longridge, in perpetuity, for the service of one Red Rose due at the feast of St John the Baptist, 'si petatur pro omni servitio seculari et demand.' The croft was called 'Cley Crofte.'

In the sixth year of Edward VI. (Dec. 4) one, John West, produced in the Manor Court a Charter made by Ralph *Damsell*, 'Dominus de Walton' (Walton Castle), Co. Somerset, and Thomas Sudgrove, or Southgrove, of Painswick, for the latter, his heirs and assigns, — and claimed as a free-tenant of the Manor by a scrip of Release of Richard Holoway of Castlecomb, near Chippenham, and Margaret, his wife, and his heirs John Smith of Cirencester, dated June 26, A. 33, Henry VIII. The property was held by tenure of one Red Rose, as above related.

This disposes of certain fantastic fictions relative to the locality invented in modern days in order to account for what is, after all, a mere surname. There are other legends in Painswick much resembling it. Future references to Damsells will be made when we come to the days of Henry VII.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LATER TALBOTS—THE 1ST EARL OF SHREWSBURY MODIFIES THE CUSTOMS OF THE MANOR — THE CUSTOMS OF 15TH CENTURY HERE.

Gilbert, Lord Talbot (1) died in 1387 and was succeeded by a second Sir Richard (his son by Joan de Stafford) who was then 26 years of age. Richard, Lord Talbot, who had marched against the Scots with his father in 1385, had married in the previous year Ankaret, sister of John, Lord Strange of Blackmere. In 1392 he was found to be cousin and heir to John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke. He, however, died in 1396, and was seised of the Manors of Painswick, Morton, Whaddon, Badgeworth, and Lydney in Gloucestershire; Braxted, Hastingbury and Daldbury in Essex; Doddington, Brockwardine, Blackmere (*i.e.*, Whitchurch) in Salop; Bampton, Oxon; Goodrich Castle and the Hundred of Irchenfield, and the Castle of Kilpec (Co. Hereford), and other properties.

He left, in addition to Sir Gilbert (2), four other sons and four daughters. The second son, John, lived to become Lord of Painswick (and lived here) and Goodrich, and famous in History as the great Earl of Shrewsbury, the Alcides of England; and the third, Richard, became Archbishop of Dublin; while Anne, the eldest daughter, married Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon.¹ Ankaret, (1), the widow, married secondly Sir Thomas Neville, Lord Furnivall, and died in 1413.

Gilbert (2), Lord Talbot, in 1404 defeated the Welsh, who had risen with Owen Glendower against Henry IV. and was associated with Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., in his Welsh campaign. He married in 1400, Joan, daughter of Thomas de Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, but had no issue, and secondly, Beatrix, natural daughter of John I, King of Portugal, and widow of

1. It was possibly at this period the Park Lodge became enriched with a Chapel, the inscribed altar-stone of which, dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity and All Saints (1403), survives there. See page 163.

Thomas, Earl of Arundel, by whom he had an only child, Ankaret (2) who succeeded him on his death on Oct. 19, 1419, in his possessions, being then but an infant of two years. In the *Inquisitio Post-Mortem*, Henry V., a. 9 (1421) she is called "Ancareta filia et hæres Gilbert Talbot Chivaler defuncta: Tenementa vocatur Damyselles-land¹ juxta Painswick." (p. 59). So she died seized of this as if it were a dower portion, or manor within the Manor, which had been sub-let to the Damsels.

In consequence of her demise, her uncle, John Talbot, inherited Painswick, as Sir John Talbot, Lord Talbot and Furnival, having married Maud, eldest co-heiress and daughter of Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival. By this title he had been summoned to Parliament in 1409. On the death of his brother, Gilbert, he left Ireland, where he had been severely handling the rebels. Next year he attended the King (Henry V.) into France, and entered Paris triumphantly with him in 1420. He soon after learned of his niece's death and his own succession to Painswick, Goodrich, and to a multitude of other lands. He was, however, now become so distinguished a captain that the King retained his services in France until his own death 1421. We need not follow his famous career, which is a matter not belonging to the Manor, but to France and England; nor the forty battles in which he is said to have fought before his death at Chastillon, near Bordeaux, in 1453.

The Homage of the Manor in 1429 declare that the Abbot of S. Peter's, Gloucester, and his tenants, have encroached on the lands of the Lord of it at Horsepoles² in the tything of Edge, an interesting mention of the locality still known by the same name, and where a spring now supplies a horse-trough. Probably in those days the pack-horses carrying Cotteswold wool and corn to Gloucester Market passed this way and slaked their thirst before continuing their route along the escarpment and Huddiknoll. Some of the place-names mentioned are worth recording.

Wycceshallsfeld, or later Woosalls, was in Stroud-end. Pernellshouse : Crompelyns : Tydeley-le-Freys (Frith?) In Shepscombe, Haselonde : Wynfords : Maynards : both the

1. Named from Sir Richard Damsel.

2. It will be recalled that the said Abbey farmed Standish Manor.

latter evidently giving us the names of former tenants of the Lords; also Smallyns Mill: Wodhammede:¹ Gysesmill, and Sewardes, at Stroud-end. Names of tenants: Robert Wych, John Tunley, Lister, Attwood, Caleston, Oliffe, Holcote, Collins, Wynford, Chese, Good-and-fair. High-street is mentioned and New-street and the Barnet-street (the Gloucester-road), Paradise, and Alban's Cross,² also a New Hall, of which, presently. The latter of these crosses probably became Damsel's Cross, as Alban's Cross is not mentioned later. Incidentally a portion of a road at Stroud is mentioned named Caldrichestreet,³ on the south side of the Highway. The hill that mounts up to Ebbworth from Shepscombe went by the name of Ellernehill⁴—'Mons, vocatur Ellernehull.' William Forthy asks the Lord of the Manor that a proper road for waggons, flocks, and animals, may be made on the northern side of the same (above Shepscombe), so that they need not run on to his ground called Maynardes, otherwise Churches. This was granted (1426). Here we obtain the date of one local road.

It is interesting to note that Edgworth⁵ had at this time passed into the tenure of the Devonshire Raleighs. William Raleigh, who owns Northcote, and five other manors in Devon, and four fees, succeeds his father Thomas Raleigh there in 1420, and together with the sub-manor of Edgworth holds the Advowson of Edgworth Church; 'ut de Manerio de Payneswick,' as from the Manor of Painswick. In 1495 we find an Edward Raleigh (Miles) holding a parcel of land in Eggeworthe at a rent of XIId. And later, in the 16th century, we shall see their descendants still living there.

In 1427, the Calendar of Patent Rolls tells us that Walter Woodburn of Payneswick, gentleman, was fined for not having appeared before the King's Justice to answer John Ashewell,

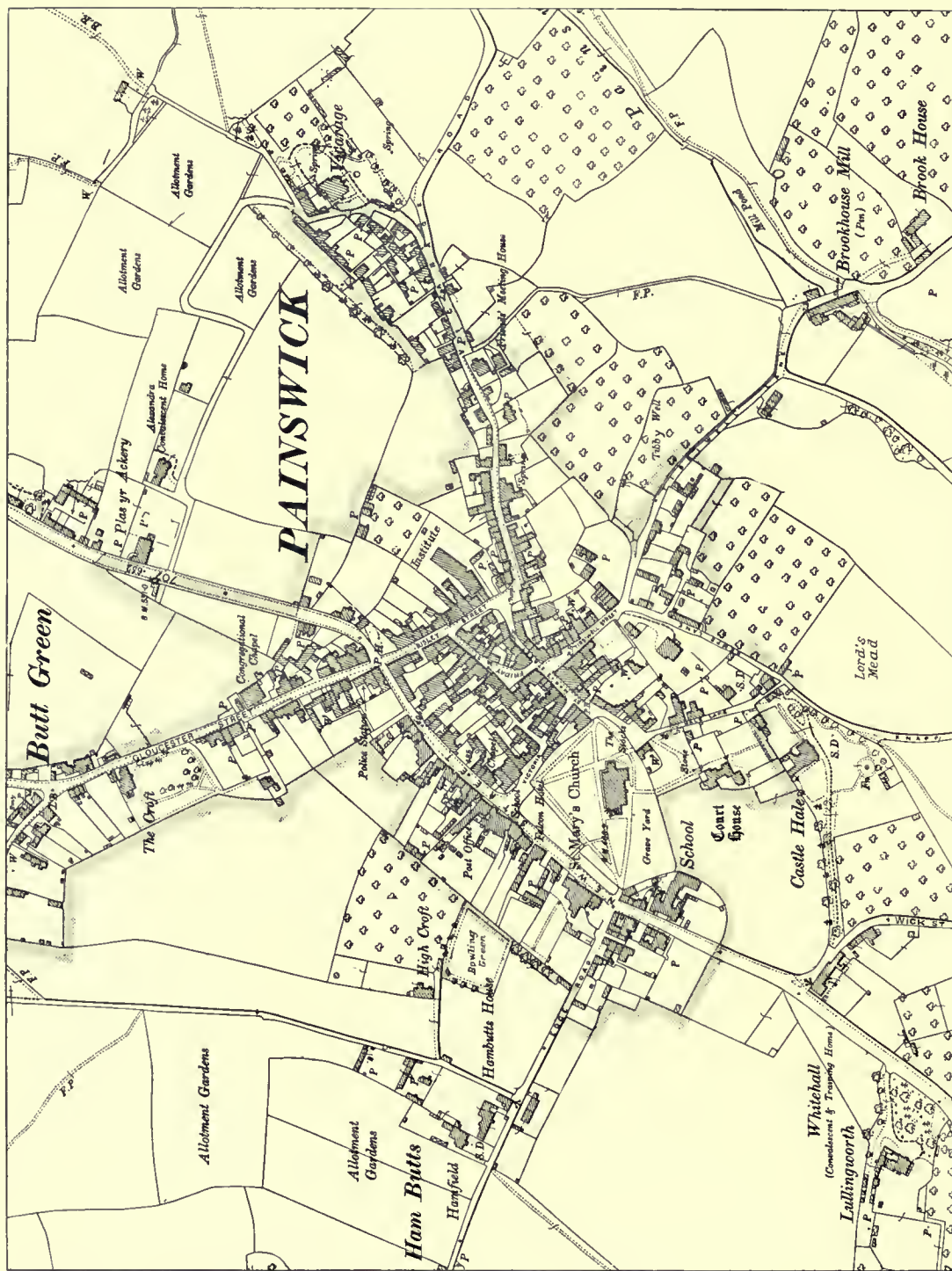
1. At Paradise.

2. Cf. Alhynsgate "To the Smith at Alhynsgate 2 yards, ½ of red cloth, by the yard, 5s. Perhaps a gate of the Park, near Paradise.

3. This is of interest, being one of a class of surviving names,—such as Caldicot, Cold-Harbour, Cold Comfort,—frequently found associated with Roman remains.

4. Elder-tree-hill.

5. Edgworth stills pays 2s. annually to the Lord of the Manor of Painswick.



MAP OF PAINSWICK

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey Map with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office)

grocer, and citizen of London, touching a plea of debt of £10 17s. 7½d. (May 27 : p. 373).

To 1429 belongs the curious tenure noticed in the *History of the Church of St. Mary*, by which Sir John Launder, perpetual Vicar of the Parish of Payneswick, took timber in Longridge Wood, on payment of 6d. annually at the Feast of the Annunciation, the demise or lease being settled by the presentation of a woodcock taken in Longridge Wood.

'Dimissio unius Gallorum volatilis silvestris.' Ad istam Curiam venit Johannis Launder perpetuus Vicarius Ecclesie de Paneswyk, et cepit de Domino unum volatilem Gallorum sylvestrem de novo (?) per Consilium Domini in quodam bosco Domini vocatur Langridge ordinale cum certo spatio de jure ad dictum volatilem . . . edend (?) concedendum) ad custodiam dicti Vicarii sine vasto facto. Et super hoc Dominus concessit dicto Johanni Launder dictum volatilem Gallorum tenendum sibi ad terminum vitæ suæ secundum consuetudinem Manerii, Reddendo inde annuatim ad festam Annunciationis Beatæ Mariæ VI^d. Et non datur finem causa . . . idacionis (?) nidificationis) dicti volatilis, et fecit fideliter.¹²

The quarried rough slope situated below the said wood is still called Cockshoot Mead, and a few of these birds are annually seen, and occasionally shot, thereabouts.

In a Roll of 1429 occurs mention of a New Hall (Nova Aula). This probably refers to the Cloth-makers' Hall. William Hutchins, a tenant, surrenders a cottage situated in a road called Barnet Street (*i.e.*, Gloucester Street) in the northern portion of the Manor, between the New Hall and the land of Richard Parton, to William Snow. Paradise is mentioned as near Alban's Cross and above 'Wodhammede'; so a cross marked two roads joining near Paradise³ in those days.

The Seneschal or Steward of the Manor at this time was one Thomas Fetteplace.

1. A curious roundabout description of the bird intended. 'Gallivolatium' was the word for a cock-shoot or cock-glade.

2. The document is in a bad condition.

3. It will be re-called that there is one Paradise at Harescombe and another at Cheltenham: and Paradise Row in London. The origin of the term is doubtful. It may be mentioned that in 1405 seeds called 'grain of Paradise' coming from Tripoli were sold in England at 6s. per lb., and in 1443 at 2s. 6d.

A list of expenses of the Steward during Court Days gives us the names of the chief tradesmen and the prices of provisions in Painswick. Beleson is the Common butcher, John Fox sells fish. Joan Fuyster and Juliana White are Common malstresses, Simon Baker bears the name of his trade. John Abraham is the smith and shoer of horses. A chicken cost 3d., half a goat 5d. Two lampreys 8d. Three quarters of mutton 16½d., half a sheep 9d., a dove 1d., butter 2d., two pullets 3d., six gallons of beer 1s., spices and pepper 1d., a bushel of oats 5d., two gallons of milk 2d.

When the Court of the Manor was held in 1430, no doubt it was known in Payneswick that the Lord of the Manor was become a prisoner of war in France, in which condition he remained until 1432, when, on being set at liberty, he at once commenced a series of successful military exploits in conjunction with the Duke of Bedford, which led to his being created Earl of Shrewsbury in 1442 (20, Hen. VI.) Eleven years later he fell at Chastillon, together with John, Viscount Lisle of Kingston Lisle (Berks) his eldest son by his second marriage, who had himself married Joan, daughter of Sir Thomas Cheddar. By this union the latter left two daughters (Elizabeth married to Sir Edward Grey, and Margaret to Sir George Vere), and one son, Thomas (b. 1443), who succeeded his father (John), as Viscount Lisle (1453), and finally inherited Painswick, Moreton Valence and Whaddon; Goodrich Castle, with the rest of the family manors, passing away to the elder branch, viz., to John, second Earl of Shrewsbury.

The *Inquisitio Post Mortem* (p. 53) A. 32, Hen. VI. (1453) of the first Earl runs thus: (as far as we are concerned).

“Johannes Comes Salopiæ:

“1. Payneswick Manerium et 10 messuagia 3 molendini (mills) 14 virgatæ terræ 10 acras pratæ (fields) et 20 acræ bosci (wood) ibidem.

“2. Et Panyswike:

parcella' terræ juxta Paneswyke, vocatur Damysel-londes. [Damsel's lands].

“3. Morton.

“4. Whaddon, &c.”

1. And a parcel of land near P. called Damsels-lands.

But it is now necessary to turn to two important documents or rather early copies of such, which throw considerable light not only upon the momentous improvements effected in the condition of the tenants of Painswick Manor in the 15th century, but also on the great Earl as a very benign manor-lord.

The first of these documents was transcribed by Rudder in his *History of Gloucestershire*, 1779, (pp. 593-4) from an original (?) or (more probably) from an Elizabethan copy of one, which has not since been found. The date of it must have been 1440-5. [For No. 2, see p. 118].

“Com : Glouc :”

“The Court holden at Painswicke the XXIst day of Aprille, A.D. 1400,¹ at which Courte came Lord John Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, his owne person, with Sir William Mill, knight,² his receiver by patent, Giles a’ Bridges,³ Esquire, and Thomas a’ Bridges, his sonne, and their stewards and surveyors jointlie by patent, together, to the said Lord Talbot, of Paineswick, Whaddon and Morton. And the said Lord Talbot declared at the said courte certayn Articles as hereafter enseweth :

“1. The first Article was: That hee had been beyond the sea, in the King’s wars, and at that time he had XVI. men out of the Lordshipp of Painswicke, of the which there were XI. married men slain, whereby the widdows cryed on the said Lord Talbott, not onely for loosing their husbands, but also for loosing their holdings, and some of them were his bondmen.

“2. The second Article containeth how the said Lord Talbott was disposed to let his Desmesnes unto his customary tenants with all the herbage and pannage and tacke of pigs, of the common hills and pasture of arable lands, both to the whole yards (virgates), half-yards, farnedells (quarter-yard lands) and mundaies grounds (eighth-yard lands).

“3. The third Article containeth how the said Lord Talbot willed to every widdowe in the said lordshippe, for their good will, their herriots to the nexte of their kynne, according to the

1. Should be c. 1442.

2. Of Harescombe. He married Frances Winchcombe, and they were attainted anno. 1, Edward IV. He was slain at Towton, 1461.

3. Of Cobberley.

praisemente as they were praysed at, and alsoe waved^t (waifed) and strayed goods, payeing the praysement thereof to the takers thereof.

“4. The fourth Article conteyneth how he would dismis (demise) himself from man’s reepe, wife’s reepe, and child’s reepe from the burgages and cottages which were builded out of his demesnes in the Newe street of Painswicke.

“5. The fifth Article conteyneth how that he would lett out his arable lands, reserving two meadows for his horses and deare, that is to say, Whaddon meadow, and Band meadow.

“6. The sixth Article conteyneth whether the tennants would have the tenure of Damsells into their custome or noo.

“7. The seventh Article conteyneth how that he would knowe how many freeholders there were in the lordshippe of Painswicke.

“8. The eighth is touching the iiii warrants of Conyes (Rabbits.)

“Upon the which Articles there were chosen at the Court XX. men to make answer. There were chosen XII. out of the homadge of his customary tenants, which be whole yards (*i.e.*, those holding virgates) half-yards, ferendels and mundies; and of the town of Painswicke were chosen VIII. men, which be burgesses, curtalagers and cottagers, and of the which twenty men were chosen iii out of the Homadge of Edge, that is to say, William King, Thomas Castle, and Robert Tonley; iii out of the Homadge of Strowde; the which were William Ward, William Browne and William Jordeyne; iii out of the Homadge of Sheppiscombe, which were John Wether the elder, William Mynsterworth and John Bonhill of the Beech; iii out of the Homadge of Sponebed, which were William Sponebed, William Merriman, and Thomas Sawcome (? Salcombe); and viii out of the Town of Painswicke, that is to say William Squawe, William Pytt, John Castle, Thomas Collins, William Chamber, Robert Frampton, William Scott and Thomas Shawe: the which Inquest being impannelled, the said Lord Talbot gave them charge to bring in an answer to the said Articles.

1. Stolen.

“1st. Concerning the widows’ estate, whether they should hold their living and marry as ofte as they were widows.

“2nd. For the second Article, what they would bring in, and make in ready money for yearlie rent, for his herbage of his common hills, and waste grounds, and pannage of his woods, and tacke of piggs, and to sett yard, half-yard, ferendells, and mundies through the whole lordshippe by equal portions, and what value and sum they would bring him in for the same.

“3rd. The third, the Heriots given to the widdowes, also concerning waived goods and strayed goods.

“4th. The fourth, concerning the demising himself from man’s reepe, wife’s reepe and child’s reepe. [Wife-rip, &c.]

“5th. The fifth, concerning the selling out of his arable lande to his tenants, both in the towne and country, and the said Inquests should bringe in what every man would give for an acre. Also, likewise that the said Inquests should bring in an answer of all the other Articles.

“The Answer of the said INQUESTE given to the said Lord Talbot concerning the said Articles, as hereafter followeth :

“1. Touching to the First. the said Inqueste do agree that the widdowes shall break their old custom, and that they should have their livings during their life, and marry with whom they liste. And the said Lord Talbot agreed to the same and enrolled it in the Court and Custom.

“2. As concerning the Second, touching herbage and pannage, tacke of piggs, of the common hills and pasture of arable land, the said Inquest brought in x lib overed in the rent of Assize, (rents, that is of free- and copy-holders) every man to his portion, to which the said Lord Talbot agreed, and enrolled it in his Custom-booke.

“3. As concerning the Heriotts given to the widdowes at the praisement thereof. Also waived goods and strayed goods, the said Inquest brought in that the said widdowes should have it according as the Lord’s will was.

“4. The said Inqueste brought in their answer concerning the Reepes (rips) that they should be dismissed by reason (that) the said Lord gave up his Householde (*i.e.*, living at Painswick and keeping his Court there).

“5. The answer of the arable land, the said Inqueste brought in that every man should have a portion, the best lands at XIIId. an acre, the second for VIIId. an acre, the third VIId., the fourth for IIIId. an acre, and some for IId. the acre, all which demaines was sett, saving XIII. acres lying in Duddescombe in the Culverhouse Hill. And at the laste came one William Jourdayn and took the said XIII. acres of land of the said Lord for XIIId. by year, with a Culverhouse (Colombarium) decayed, payeing for the same 11d. by the yeare, and four acres of barren lande lying in Huddinals' Hill. For the said iii. acres came William Tonley and took it of the Lord for 1d. an acre by the yeare. And in a little space every man made a copy of his portion and the said Lord sealed them.

“Touching DAMSELL'S Land, the said Inqueste brought in, that every man² should hold it according to the custom, as other tenants do, payeing their rent and reliefe and no other custome to the Lord. And there were half-yarde lands in Shepescombe the which the said Lord Talbot diminished at the said Courte, one called Chrochen and the other Jones. Out of Chrochen³ the said Lord bated XII. acres lying in the parke, and out of Jones VIII. acres. And the Lord ceased Chrochen land at 2s. by (the) year, and Jones lands at VIIId. by yeare, and graunted them to be customary holders in their comen (common) as other, both for the batement of the said Lande. That is to say, XII. acres out of Chrochen, which lyeth in the Park in Cockshoute lande, and VIII. acres out of Jones, lying in the said Parke, in Bushie lande. And for having of the said lande into the Parke, the said Lord covenanted at the same time to pay the King at every taske VIIs.

“The said Inquest brought in for freeholders the Prior of Lantonye, certayne tenements given by the said Lord of late to the House of Flaynesforde,⁴ conteyning V yard land with 2 water-mills. The Almoner of the Monasterie of S. Peter's in Gloucester paying to the Lord's kitchen yearly at the feaste of our Lord God, one mutton sheepe, Pigs Lands, De la Meeres lands in

1. Now Huddiknoll, at Edge.
2. *i.e.*, holder.
3. Crochen, a deer's skull.
4. At Goodrich, Co. Hereford.

Sheppescombe, John Robbin's lands, Rose's¹ lands, otherwise called Damsells, the which the said Lord had in his hands at that time already of late the feoffees of the lands of our Lady, since in the Church of Painswicke, and Henry Hoynes (Heynes) for Withers lands.

"The said Inqueste brought in at the said Courte, for their Answer, concerning the iiij. warrants (rabbit warrens) that every homadage should have one, as hereafter followeth, that is to say, Duddescombe, and the ii. Frethes, (*i.e.*, Friths²) in the Homage of Stroud, homage for Edge, Arnegrove and Highgrove, (*i.e.*, now Clattergrove) in Sponebed, Kynsbury with Hawking Hill, (*i.e.*, the Camp), the fourth in Longridge and Nettlebeds in Shepescombe. And the said Inquest desired the Lord to ceasse the Rent what every tything should pay for their warrants. And the said Lord graunted that every tithing should pay yearly IIIs. IIIId. doeyng his neighbour noe harme. And the said iiij. homadges to increase conies, soe that they doe not hurte their arable lands or corne.

"And at the same time the said Lord Talbot dismissed (demised) his iii. weekes Courte, and comytted it (*i.e.*, commuted) to ii. courtes in the year onelie for Payneswicke, and dismissed Whaddon and Moreton. And that noe man of the said tennents should sue another in any Courte, but in Payneswick Court, saving in the High Courts above, and in the Marches of Wales.

"Furthermore, the said Lord commanded his tennents to keepe his custome, every man in his behalfe, and that noe Sheriffe nor Bayley arrant,³ nor noe other out (outside) officers should serve any writte or warrant on any of the said tennents, without the goodwill of the Steward there for the tyme being. Att the same Courte came William Sponebed, Amner⁴ of the Monastery of S. Peter's in Gloucester, and James Mille of Ebworth, being farmer⁵ there, and agreed with the said Lord for IIIs. by the yeare for the mutton sheepe and to release the iii. weekes

1. From its annual rent of a red rose.
2. The woodlands now called 'the Frith wood.'
3. Errant.
4. Almoner.
5. Farmer for the Abbey of Gloucester.

courte. And also, the said William Sponebed and James Mille desired the said Lord at the said Courte to have a copie out of the same Courte Roll, and the Lord graunted them, and the said William Sponebed wrought it out with his owne hand.

“Moreover, the said Lord willed his tennents that if any man came to claim any lands in the lordship of Payneswicke that he or they that soe claimeth should have a courte loking, paying for the same IIs. and enter the same, and that there should be chosen XII. men, III. out of every homadge. And if the matter were in the town (*i.e.*, Painswick) that then they should choose VIII. men out of the towne, and one out of every homadge, and the Inqueste soe chosen should go into an house, and should not come forth of the said house until they had brought in their verdict of the same before the Steward for the time being, whoe had righte to the said land.

“Furthermore, if any of the tennants make a forfeite for lack of reparations, that every tenente so offending shall pay a double relieffe, and enter into his former estate again; and if any refuse to pay the said relieffe, then it shall be lawefull for his next heire to enter into the saide grounds payeing the said relieffe. And like manner if any of the said tenants be attainted for Felonye or for any other cause, his nexte a kynne shall enter upon the grounde, paying to the Lord the aforesaid double relieffe.”

This important document needs attentive comment, in order to yield its worth to us in illustrating the story of Painswick, and this it has perhaps never received.

The date occurring at the commencement is, of course, a mis-transcription either by Rudder or, more probably, by an earlier copyist. But what should the date be? It is necessary to approximate it as closely as we can. To start with, the Lord Talbot here referred to, as having held his Court in Person, and having had his household in the Manor, did not receive his Earldom of Shrewsbury until May 20, 1442 (A. 20, Henry VI.) in which year he was in England. Next year he went back to France, but he returned in 1444, and became Lieutenant of Ireland in the following year. In the Rolls of the Manor, some of which are still extant for years 6, 7 and 8, Henry VI.,

the financial results of Wife-rip and Child-rip (*i.e.*, the amount of cereal or hay which women and children could reap) are duly entered. (In A. 6, Henry VI. = 1428 Wife-rip brought in 5s. 8d. and Child-rip 1s.) In that for 1442 they are nowhere to be found. But in Article 4 of the Lord's schedule given above is contained reference to the demising of them. The Document in question should, therefore, probably be dated about 1442. This increases its interest, and we must next examine the names of tenants occurring in it, and here again we are fortunate. Robert Tonley, William King, William Mynsterworth, William Merryman, are all there. The other names, however, William Jourdayne, John Bonhill, do not appear. The holding at Shepscombe called Chrochen, described in the above document as a half-yard land, is described in the Roll as a farendel, or quarter-yard land (not heriotable), held by John Wether (mentioned as in the Homage of Shepscombe in the document). But if the Lord "bated XII. acres lying in the Park" out of Chrochen, it must already have been a half-yard land, and became now reduced to something less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres, an average farendel, because a half-yard land represents 15 acres, and 12 from 15 leaves but 3 acres. But due weight must likewise be allowed to the fact that in the Document above-given he is never called Earl, but only Lord Talbot. In 1446, the Earl was in England, having brought back with him Queen Margaret. In 1448 he returned to France, and though again in England for six months, for the last time in 1451, these months were filled with political business of great moment.

The next point to notice is that the document represents a thorough-going reform in the Administration of the Manor of Painswick framed in a benevolent spirit so as to remove certain distinct grievances from which the tenants had doubtless cruelly suffered. And, of these grievances, the First Article sets forth directly, and strikes a key-note. The Lord has received the bitter complaints of eleven widows in Painswick who having lost their husbands (who had gone forth fighting under their Lord into France), had forfeited their tenements to their next-of-kin, and had had to pay heriots to the Lord of the Manor. Some of their husbands had been free tenants (*Liberi homines*) and some were bondmen (*nativi Domini*), who might have become manumitted,

but whose rights were almost non-existent. The loss of their husbands had given them no right to marry again, while it had deprived some of them of their tenements, *i.e.*, turned them into destitute persons.

The Lord designed forcibly to do away with this scandalous state of things by granting that in future a widow should be enabled to marry again with whom she willed, and as often as she willed, and also that the heriot instead of being taken from her on succession should be forgone to her ; that she should retain her tenement ; and that finally after her decease the tenement or holding, although she may have married sundry times, should by right descend to her next heir.

This enactment seems, by the light of the customs in force in Elizabeth's later day, to have ordered that the wife of any tenant on the decease of her husband became admitted to her free-bench (*i.e.*, one-third annual value) in the Lord's Manor Court, by the payment of one penny, and re-marriage on her part did not cancel her right to it, but the privilege continued during her life. It is not difficult to appreciate the great step in advance made by this enactment alone, which probably caused Painswick tenants to be envied by the neighbours in many other manors.

The next point, constituting another grievance, done away with by the Lord, relates to herbage and pannage on the common lands, (woods and hills) and the waste-land of the Manor, upon which the tenants fattened their geese and pigs and horses, but only on payment for a license to the Lord. As pork and bacon were important foods among the tenants, and in value came next to oxen and horses, and the pig thrived on beech-mast and acorns, the animal's price was kept high owing to the exactions for license or fines for non-taking out one. Again the tenants might not fell wood or cut fuel and brush without license from the Lord, even if it occurred upon their own customary land. These grievances were likewise removed. Also, providing only that no trespass should be committed, Tenants, in future, might lawfully fell the woods, timber-trees, &c., growing upon their tenements, without license from the Lord or interference from his officers.

The Lord of the Manor had hitherto held certain non-infeudated portions of his fief at Painswick, or demesne-lands, in

Washwell, Duddescombe, Ham and Ifold, in his own hands, that is to say, he did not let to farm to his tenants of any degree on those lands, which, of course, contained the richest soil. He now decided to let his demesnes to his customary tenants with all the herbage and pannage and tacke of pigs, and that in yard-lands (*i.e.*, 30 acres) half-yard lands, farendels, and mundies grounds (*i.e.*, eighth of a yard-land), just like the rest of the Manor.

The Fourth Article "that the Lord would dismiss himself from man's reepe, wife's reepe, and child's reepe from the bur-gages and cottages which were builded out of his desmesnes in the new street of Painswick," is of threefold importance; first, as regarding the lightening of the burden on the tenants of being taxed for man-rip, wife-rip, and child-rip; secondly, because the Lord mentions that the New Street in Painswick has (evidently recently) been builded out of his desmesnes (this gives us the date of New Street' as early XV. c.). Thirdly, the answer of the Inquest assenting to the Lord's proposal to demise to his tenants the tax on the 'Rip' (if, indeed, this be what the obscure wording of that particular Article means to convey!) "The said Inquest brought in their answer concerning the 'reepes' that they should be dismissed, by reason the said Lord gave up his Householde."

This last is of especial interest, as it shews that the Earl kept his Court House at Painswick; moreover that he gave up keeping it at this period (c. 1442); and the Inquest considered this a good reason for his releasing his personal interest in the tax on 'Rip.' The (so-called) present Court-House, probably stands upon a portion only of the former site, which remained vacant for perhaps as long as 100 years, until Thomas Gardner, a copyhold tenant, was permitted to build his residence upon it by the Lord, c. 1595.

Here, then, we have mentioned the New Street, and we also have at the same date mentioned 'Novo Vico,' or New town. Since Painswick came directly after the Earl's death to the children of his second wife, in fact, to his grandson, the unfortunate Thomas, Viscount Lisle, who is known to have lived here, we

1. Beginning, of course, only at the modern Gloucester Street, then High Street. The modern continuation, or Cheltenham Road is but seventy-five years old.

may conjecture that the latter and his two sisters (and his co-heirs in Painswick) may have been born here.

It is manifest that this Talbot was a solid benefactor to Painswick; and, under conditions thus greatly improved by his action, we cannot be surprised that within fifty years the Priors of Llantony came to find that their Vicar here needed a far larger church in order to accommodate the parishioners of this flourishing Cotteswold manor and growing town.

The present Tudor remains noticeable at the Park Lodge embody a small portion (on the N. side) of a secondary mansion built probably by the Earl's father and the inscribed altar-stone (a rare object indeed) of its chapel is still there, which can be dated precisely 1403-4. The window here illustrated is perhaps as early as this, though Mr Albert Hartshorne thinks, and the writer follows him, that 1420 would be nearer its date. We, therefore, have remains extant, if not of the mansion-house or Castle once occupied by the great John Talbot and his ancestors, of their Park Lodge. At least, this seems the only satisfactory conclusion suggested by the datable altar-stone, and the datable window. The altar-stone is probably therefore from 15 to 20 years older than the north window.

The First Article of the Concessions was also revolutionary. The Lord would be pleased to let out his demesne-lands, both in Washwell (*i.e.* near the town) and in the country (*i.e.*, Ifold, Duddescombe and Ham). This the Inquest arranged according to five different qualities of the land, as quoted above, excepting a certain XIII. acres lying in Duddescombe 'on the Culverhouse Hill.' And these were, it appears, taken by one William Jourdayne, for XIIId. by the year and 2d. for the culverhouse.

Now it was the custom of the Manor that the tenants of these acres (called Thirteenes) were those bound to carry venison for the Lord into such and such places as he appointed, for the space of a day and a night apiece, at their own cost, or else stand to the annual fine of 8d. to the Lord's use, and if any tenant or sub-tenant had two of the acres, he paid xvid. From this time forward, therefore, namely 1442, keen competition was begotten among the tenants for obtaining hold of demesne land, for farming in all the four demesne portions, 'and



THE LODGE. A XV. C. WINDOW



COURT-HOUSE (East Side)

in a little space every man made a copy of his portion, and the Lord sealed them.'

And then 'touching Damsells-Land'—that estate we have seen carved out by the Sudgroves and Damsells sixty years before, and constituting a little manor of itself. The Sudgroves and Damsells had died out or quitted the Manor. 'The Inquest brought in that every man (tenant) should (be able to) hold it, according to the custome, as other tenants do, payeing their rent and relief, and noe other custom to the lord.' Accordingly the Lord allowed this also, and we find all the crofts, pastures, messuages on that estate, including 'le Hallehouse' (so Damsells had its own little Manor Hall), from this time onwards let out to various tenants, some fourteen in number. One particular croft or close called Cleycroft (not heriotable) was still let on the nominal rent of a red Rose payable on the feast of S. John the Baptist, to John Waxman, who lived until May 20th, 1485, when he was succeeded in his holdings by his half-brother, Nicholas Wolde. These were an apple orchard (pomarium) called Damsells orchard, and Cleycroft near Longridge Wood in Edge tithing. This red-Rose tenure of Cleycroft continued until Elizabeth's reign, when it also was commuted, as we shall find, for money-rent.

The heriots were only exacted on yard and half-yard lands, and consisted of the best quick (living) cattle, or in default the best household stuff or goods. The rents were paid to the Manor-Reeve at four dates in the year: The Feast of the Annunciation, the Nativity of St John the Baptist, St Michael, and Christmas, and the Reeve was paid 26s. and 8d. for his trouble.

Another interesting point in the Inquest is the appearance put in by the Priors of Llantony and Flanesford as freeholders. It would seem that the Lord had lately increased his ancestor's gift of land in the Manor to Flanesford Priory. The two water-mills given by Sir Richard Talbot a hundred years before still figure, but the land has been increased to five virgates = 150 acres. This was situated (as stated before) near and around what is now Seagrym's and Ayers' Mill. The Abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, is another free-holder, and having a carucate (*i.e.*, 120 acres) and messuage at Ebbworth, paid two shillings rent annually and one mutton-sheep at Christmas to the Lord's

kitchen. The Feoffees of the lands of our Lady, 'since in the Church of Painswick,' are also free-holders. But what are the lands of our Lady, and why are they stated to be 'since' in the Church of Painswick? A Roll of Henry VII. shews the Feoffatæ Beatæ Mariæ paying viiid. and included as one of the holders of the parcel of lands called 'Thirteenes' and at that date they paid this to the Manor Lord, not to Llantoný.¹ How did they stand before they were included in the Church of Painswick? It is not easy to answer this, unless one is to suppose that the Lord of the Manor still exercised partial right in the Church of Painswick, independent of Llantoný; which right he surrendered when he made the Feoffees free-tenants.

The encouragement of rabbits seems to have been considered important. The warrens brought in 13s. 4d. p.a. in 1495.

"Furthermore the said Lord commanded his tenants to keep his custom every man in his behalf, and that no Sheriff nor Bailiff arrant, nor no other out officers should serve any writ or warrant on any of the said tenants without the goodwill of the Steward there for the time being." The customs of the Manor (temp: Elizabeth) explain this significant distinction. "The custom is, and tyme out of mynde used hath bene, that the Sheriff or any of his Bayliffs or Ministers cannot enter within this Liberty to serve any process upon any person within the same; unlesse it be with a Commandement or Subpœna." The Bailiff means the Bailiff of the Hundred of Bisley or the Portreeve of Gloucester. This signifies that this Manor enjoyed a peculiar immunity from external jurisdiction. It stood somewhat, but not absolutely, outside national police or justice. It was still used to justice administered by the Reeve. So that the rights of gallows, pillory and tumbrel were no doubt continued, and although we have no evidence of a gallows-place at Painswick itself, we have certain evidence of it having existed at Shepscomb, where Sir Anthony Kingston, Sheriff of the County, renewed it in order to

1. "They hold one Burgage and twelve acres; and a messuage and a farendel of land: also 2 cottages with a garden, called Lycchefeld and Denys: another cottage with appurtenances: a cottage called Lyons with an acre of land, lately in the tenure of Richard Hyk; one parcel of land called Pekshals, with its garden, lying next the Pynfold." The annual rent of all these was £1 1s. 6½d.

execute rebels against Queen Mary. Probably there was a 'Stocks' in Shepscomb as well as in Painswick.

Taking survey of this striking tale of the concessions of the Earl of Shrewsbury, it is manifest that if Painswick men had not served him remarkably well, and that is bravely, in the long war in France, as no doubt their ancestors had served his father and grandfather before him back to the days of Crecy (1346), they would scarcely have inspired the warrior at 65 years of age with desire to repay them thus handsomely. That, to our mind, is the natural and only explanation of this highly-interesting and fortunately preserved document.

It is furthermore to be noted that whatsoever may have been the customs of the Manor of Painswick previously to 1440-5, from that date forward, while embodying the best traditions of the previous centuries, they underwent great change in really liberal directions,—and that this achieved advancement in their condition would inevitably become the main point of reference, should difficulties arise in future days between the tenants and their manor-lords at Painswick.

The William Jourdeyne mentioned in the Earl's concessions as being of the homage of Strode, is represented through later times by the family of Hammond. In the famous Chancery suit between the Jerninghams (1614) and their tenants, John Hammond, the leading tenant, is always particularly mentioned as 'alias Jurden' (*i.e.*, Jourdeyne).

The last points to be noted are (1) That holding from the King in Chief, the Earl, for having into the Park, XII. acres out of 'Chrochen' and VIII. acres out of 'Jones,' at Shepescombe, is to pay the King *vis. extra*, at every taske, or four times a year; and (2) That instead of the Court-Baron being held for three weeks once a year, it is to be held twice a year, and not at Whaddon and Moreton. As the next document will shew, both Moreton and Payneswick were valued at £20 per annum, and Whaddon at £12. Damsells was held by the fiftieth part of a knight's fee. The interest of this other document for us is almost confined to the passages regarding his Paynswick property. "He held the Manor of Paynswick and 10 messuages, 3 mills, 14 yard-lands, 10 acres of meadow, 20 acres of wood in Paynswick, and that the said Manor was worth £20."

It is, therefore, significant to remark the difference of the possessions in Payneswick of the two Earls of Shrewsbury. For, the second of these dying (also in battle) only seven years later than his father, the Inquisitio of his property here runs thus:

"2 Parts, one Messuage there, and 2 carucates of land, called Damsells Land." (Cf. Inq. : P.M. p. 289, A. 38-9, H. VI., 1459).

The greater portion of the Manor had been left to the issue of the Earl's second marriage.

"(Copy of an Inquest of Office on the death of John,
(1st) Earle of Shrewsbury).

"In the 33rd year of King Henry the Sixt which was Anno Dei 1453 : [should be 1454].

"It was found by a Jury upon an Inquest of Office to be seene in the Tower of LO. . .

"That John, late Earle of Shrewsbury, held the day wherein he dyed the Mannors of Huntley and Longhope of the King and the Dutchie of Lancaster, as of the Hundred Lyond of Munmoth (Monmouth) by the service of a knight's fee and were worth by the yeare XIIIIs. and that he held the Mannor of Lydney, of Richard, Earle of Warwick, by what service they know not, and was worth by the yeare 100s. And that he held a moiety of the Mannor of Beggworthe' not of the King, but of whom the same was holden, or by what service, they know not, and was worth by the year XII li. And that he held the Mannor of Legh of the Abbot of S. Peter in Glouc : by what service they know not, and was worth by the year on iiij li. And that he held the Hamlett of Housom in the marches of Wales to the County of Glouc : adjoyn- ing, and that the said Hamlett was parcel of the Castle of Castle Goodrich in the Marches of Wales, to the County of Hereford adjoyn- ing, and that the said Hamlett was holden of the King by the hundredth part of a knight's fee and was worth by the yeare XLS. and that he held six messuages, 200 acres of land and 20 acres of meadow in Sherington not of the King but of whom or by what service they know not; and that he held a certain parcel of land called 'Damsells Land' neere Paynswick of the King in capite by the service of the fiftieth part of a knight's fee, and that he held the Mannors of Moreton and Whaddon of the King and of

1. Badgeworth.

the Earldome of Derby by ffealty for all service and that the said Mannor of Moreton was worth by the yeare xx li. (£20), and the said Mannor of Whaddon was worth by the yeare xij li. (£12). And that he held the Mannor of Paynswick, and 10 messuages, 3 mills, 14 yarde lands, tenn acres of meadow and 20 acres of wood, in Paynswick, and that the said Mannor was worth by the yeare, &c., xx li., and that he held one messuage, 40 acres of land and 4 acres of meadows in Westbury not of the King, but of whom or by what service they know not, and that John, then Earle of Shrewsbury, was sonne and heire of the aforesaid John, late Earle, and was of the age of 40 years.

“See the Custome booke of the Customs of Painswick made in the yeare 1400 (should be c. 1443) in the (life) time of John, Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord of the Mannor. This undoubtedly was the same Lord, for albeit this (above) record was 53 yeares after, yett it appears in the same record that John, then Earle of Shrewsbury, the sonne and heire was att that time, videlicet 1453, fforty yeares of age.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LISLES AND THE BERKELEYS—THE BATTLE OF NIBLEY GREEN—EDWARD IV. AND MARGARET—A RENTAL, *TEMP*: HENRY VII.

During the last five and twenty years,' however, something of serious significance to the Lords of the Manor had been growing which was soon destined to culminate in a tragic crisis. I refer to the great quarrel between the Beauchamps and the Berkeleys, over the possession of the Castle and Lordship of Berkeley; a quarrel which developed a veritable feudal warfare in parts of Gloucestershire (1465, 5 Edward IV., pp. 441). The tenth Lord Berkeley had left, by his wife, the heiress of Gerard Warren, Lord de Lisle, an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The latter obtained from Henry VI. the custody of the Castles, Manors, and Estates belonging to the last Lord Berkeley. A county Jury, however, on the strength of a Writ directed to Robert Gilbert the Escheator of Gloucestershire, found that James, eleventh Lord Berkeley (d. 1463) was his uncle's heir male, and that he should inherit the Castle of Berkeley, and twelve manors constituting the Barony of Berkeley. The Earl and Countess of Warwick, however, having obtained possession of the Castle and its deeds, held it for three years. King Henry VI., from whom Berkeley was held in chief, at last was persuaded to interpose. James, Lord Berkeley, by bribing Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, with 1,000 marks, became established in the Castle, and a compromise was with difficulty effected, which, however, lasted only so long as Lord Warwick lived. Upon the latter's decease in

1. We get few facts relating to Painswick during Edward IV. reign. The following is from the Patent Rolls:—"Pardon to the King's servant, Thomas Herbert, one of the esquires of the body and Constable of the King's Castle of Gloucester, for the escape of William Glover, late of Painswick, Glos. and of all consequent fines, amercements, and suits due to the King,"—Glover was delivered into his custody for treason and felony by Maurice Berkeley, Esq., Sheriff of the County.

1439, leaving three daughters, the eldest of whom was Margaret, the wife of John Talbot (afterwards first Earl of Shrewsbury), the family quarrel broke out afresh. In 1440, a process-server of Lord Talbot, one David Woodburne,¹ of Painswick, being sent to Wotton to serve a subpoena on Lord Berkeley, the latter (imitating Bernabo Visconti at Milan) forced the unfortunate man to swallow the summons, seals, and all. Litigation and bloodshed followed. In 1445, when Talbot was probably at Painswick, things were looking black, and frequent skirmishes took place. In 1448, a Committee of Arbitrators sat upon the case at Cirencester, but the award framed by them was ignored by Lord Berkeley. In the same year when Lady Shrewsbury was residing, not at Painswick, but at the Manor House of Wotton, Lord Berkeley attacked and looted that house. Whereupon, her son John, Viscount Lisle, took Berkeley Castle by surprise, and kept Lord Berkeley and his four sons prisoners for nearly three months. The Earl of Shrewsbury by this time was again gone to the wars in France. In 1452 a Court of Inquiry was held at Gloucester, at which Lady Shrewsbury,² and Isabel Mowbray, Lady Berkeley, attended. The latter was entrapped into Gloucester Castle and there kept prisoner by her rival. Within a few days she died (Sept 29) and was buried in the Chancel of the Grey Friars Church. In the next year the great Shrewsbury himself, and John Talbot, Lord Lisle, father and son, both fell in the fight at Chastillon, and James, Lord Berkeley, strangely, married Joan, a daughter of the Earl by his first wife. In 1467, Lady Shrewsbury died, leaving her property and several disputed manors, including Wotton and Coaley, to her grandson,

1. In the last Chapter we have noticed a Walter Woodburne (gent.), of Painswick, fined at Westminster for not having duly appeared to a summons touching a plea of debt (p 373, Catal: Pat: Rolls, anno. 5, Hen: VI.), 1427. Cf. Smyth's 'Lives of the Berkeleys,' and Trans: Br: & Glos: Arch: Soc: 111-305. In an Expenses Roll of April, 1430, this David Woodburne appears as being paid 6d. for working in the Steward's kitchen.

2. 1461, July 6th. Westminster.

Grant to Marg^t. Countess of Shrewsbury, of the custody, during his minority, of Thomas, son and heir of John, Viscount Lisle, and of all his lands, and so from heir to heir, and also the 20 marks yearly which Henry VI. granted to the said Viscount and to the heirs male of his body on his creation as Viscount, 1443, from the issues of the County of Salop. By Privy Seal. (From Calend: Pat: Rolls).

Thomas Talbot,¹ Viscount Lisle. Following her, Lord Berkeley died also, and was succeeded in his estates, and the family quarrel over the manors of Wotton, Coaley and Symonds Hall, by William, twelfth Lord Berkeley (d. 1491), his son. Thomas, Lord Lisle, had married in 1467 Margaret, daughter of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, and he now took up his residence at Wotton. It may be that Painswick had been partly abandoned as a residence by reason of the claim of the Berkeleys to Wotton Manor, and that the Talbots had gone thither into residence by the old Countess's design, in order to be face to face and, as it were, even with the wary enemy; further, to out-manœuvre him, and, if possible, seize at will upon Berkeley Castle. In fact, Lord Lisle, soon setting on foot a plot by means of Mr Robert Veale, his agent, to seize Berkeley once more, gained over to his scheme Thomas Holt, the Keeper of the Castle, and the Porter, Maurice King. King, however, disclosed the whole matter to his master at the last moment, and Holt fled to Wotton to acquaint Lord Lisle of the treachery. The latter was so enraged that he indited the (to him) fatal letter, dated March 19th, 1469, challenging Lord Berkeley to come out of Berkeley² and fight.

The result is well known: this rash young Lord of Painswick and Wotton under-estimated the forces at the disposal of his foe, who came out a thousand strong to perform precisely what Lord Lisle had defied him to do, "to beat the Manor of Wotton about his head," and posted himself over-night at Michaelwood next Nibley Green. Next morning, Lord Lisle and his men moved toward them from Nibley Church on the then extensive green. Upon their approach, the Berkeley foemen, assisted by a force from Thornbury under his brother, Maurice Berkeley, posted at a place called Fowleshard,³ met them with a deadly discharge of

1. 1467, Oct. } Entries prove Thomas Talbot, Visc: Lisle, still a minor.
1468, Nov. 5 }
1469, July 14. Westminister.

License for Thomas, Viscount Lisle, to enter freely into all Castles, Lordships, Manors, &c., of which John Talbot, Knight, Vis: Lisle, his father, and Joan, his wife, and Mary, late Countess of Shrewsbury, his grandmother, or any other ancestor of his were seized, and which should descend to him. [By Privy Seal].

2. In his letter he twits Lord Berkeley with having falsely blown it about that he (Talbot) had in Welshmen to do his business for him.

3. Foley's Grove. Cf. Vol. II., Trans: Br. & Gl. Arch. Soc., pp. 304-324.

arms. Lord Lisle was shot by one "Black Will," of the Forest of Dene (*i.e.*, Lydney), and finished off with a dagger-stroke. The leader slain,¹ his followers fled uphill toward Nibley Church, their triumphant foes pursuing them at the spear-point, until Lord Berkeley reached Wotton, and pillaged it over Lady Lisle's head, "as a place taken in lawful war."

The unfortunate Lady² gave birth to a dead child sixteen days afterwards. She, however, married Sir Henry Bodrugan, of Cornwall, but a little later. Having brought an appeal against Lord Berkeley for the death of her husband, she procured a Parliamentary enactment settling (1472) her personal claims in return for a payment of £100 per annum; Lord Berkeley to keep the disputed manors, but without prejudice to the rights of their respective heirs. The sister of Lord Lisle, Elizabeth,³ who now became his heir, had

1. James Hiatt, Esq., Constable of St Briavels, seems to have taken a leading part in the fray, who, from recent researches, would appear to have been direct ancestor to the Hyetts of Dursley and Painswick.

2. 1471, Nov. 4. Grant for life to Margaret, late the wife of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, of the Lordship and Manor of Painswick, Co. Glos., to hold in dower with knights' fees, advowsons, Courts-leet, views of Frank Pledge, and other liberties.—(Calendar of Pat. Rolls).

3. 1470. April 6.

License for Elizabeth and Mary Talbot, sisters and heiresses of Thomas, late Viscount Lisle, to enter freely into all Castles, Lordships, Manors, Lands, Rents, Reversions, &c., in England, Wales, the Marches of Wales, and Ireland, —which should descend to them by the death of the said Thomas, their brother, Kt., their father, and the late Viscount Lisle, and Joan, his wife, (and the) late Countess of Shrewsbury, their grandmother, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, her father, and Elizabeth, his wife, or any of them. [By word of mouth].
1471, Nov. 4. Westminster.

Grant for life to Margaret, late the wife of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, of the Lordship and Manor of Paneswyk, C^o. Glouc: and the Manors of Norton, Beauchamp, and Lympysham, with their members in the C^os. Somerset and Dorset, parcel of the Manors and lands of the said Viscount, to hold in dower with Knight's Fees, Advowsons, Courts-Leet, Views of Frank Pledge, and other Liberties. [By Privy Seal].

Elizabeth, sister of Thomas, late Viscount Lisle, married Edward Grey, son of Elizabeth Grey, Lady de Ferrers of Groby (living a. 38 Hen: VI.) He, thereupon, was made Baron Lisle, and (a. 1 Rich: 3) Viscount Lisle, and enjoyed with her, as Elizabeth, Lady Lisle, the Manors and Lordships to which she was entitled as sister and heiress of Thomas, late Viscount Lisle. Edward, Viscount Lisle, died July 17, a. 7, Hen: VII. (= 1490) seized in his demesne as of Frank Ten^t after the death of Elizabeth, his wife, as tenant by courtesy of the above-mentioned Manors and Lands. John Grey, their son and heir, was then aged 11 years and more, and became Viscount Lisle.

[Cf. Cal. Inquisit: Hen: VII. Writ dated 19 July, a. 7, Hen: VII. Inquis: 6 Oct. a. 8, Hen: VII.]

married Sir Edward Grey, an uncle of Lord Berkeley, who presently set up their claims against the latter,—Sir Edward becoming Viscount Lisle in right of his wife.

Probably from this time Painswick Manor House, later the Lodge, became refurnished and continuously inhabited by the Lisles. A son, John, was born to them in 1479, and a daughter, Elizabeth, of whom later. The famous Berkeley Law-suit resulting from this struggle was not finally settled until 1609.

In 1471 (May 4), had taken place the Battle of Tewkesbury. We do not hear of Painswick in connection with it, but it is conjectured that King Edward led his army along the old escarpment-tracks in order to overtake and bring to bay Queen Margaret, who marched along the valley of the Severn. From Cainscross, perhaps, he ascended Pakenhill and came along Randwick, the Rudge, and striking the Edge at Horsepools, continued his march along it round to Kimsbury, whence he probably obtained a good reconnoissance of the Queen's army proceeding in the vale below. Thence, he took the valley and made directly across country for Tewkesbury. If such was the case, he passed well in sight of Painswick. But he may have hugged the escarpment still closer, and continued along it as far as High Brotheridge, and thence descended by way of Churchdown. This would have been the sounder strategy. He certainly reached Cheltenham.

In spite of the Wars of the Roses, Painswick would seem to have prospered, and it must be presumed that the changes there effected by the Earl of Shrewsbury were found to work well.

In 1486 (2 Henry, VII.), October 25, among the free-tenants are mentioned Thomas Bridge of Cubberley (Armiger), Thomas Bridge of Dymoke, and John Waxman. The two former recall the Bridges whom we saw were acting as stewards to Lord Shrewsbury forty years before. John Ireland is the village butcher, Thomas Pytte is tithingman of Edge, succeeded by Thomas Tykell. Thomas Blysse owns a mill.

The Jurors of the Court are Thomas Hall, John Frampton, Rich: Dennyford, Nicholas More, John Pecke, Robert Mill, Rich: Adeane, John a' Chamber, James Mill, Richard Tickell, John Frethe, Rob: Mariett.

Walter Collins proceeds against Richard Pole, Nicholas More, and Robert Mill, for debts owing.

Richard Gyde, and Elenor, his wife, surrender a messuage and farendel of land to the use Robert Pytte. Henry Twinning has a mill. Other familiar names are Henry Loveday, Will: Browne. At Shepscombe, Alice Pytte, Walter Mill, have mills, and one, John Davies is Vicar of Painswick.

At Strode, Edward Hammond has a mill, hence 'Hammonds.'

William Yvy, yeoman of Gloucester, John Lynkenold, yeoman, of the same, and John Tyler, attacked the house of Richard Rogers, junior, at Painswick, and took away a red ox and a cow.

John Merriman has a dwelling called 'Sheephouse,' which is needing repairs, and John Tickell has one called 'Paradise.' John Waxman, who rented Damsels Orchard in Sponebedd tithing, and Cleyecroft (for a red rose) in Edge tithing, is deceased, and his (half) brother, John Wolde, is admitted his successor. A property called Bordeland in Strode tithing, with rent of 15s. 11d. p.a., is in the tenure of Walter Seagrim. The Seagryms, we have already noticed, trace back to the early years of Edward III., and probably to a much earlier period.

Near Blakewell was a field called Washælfeld,' toward the Highway West leading to Gloucester.

Walter Collins and Robert Frethe are Assessors.

In October, 1487, at Shepescombe :

John Fletcher is elected Tithing-man there, and John Rogers is exonerated from the office.

Robert Frampton keeps a hostel, for which he pays license.

William Bridge dies leaving a property called 'Lyrevimes, and another called 'Packers,' in Sponebed.

Men are fined occasionally for remaining outside the Manor beyond the time allowed, or going beyond without license. Millers are fined for levying excessive toll, for not keeping their hedges in order, for encroachments and assaults.

William Blysse has a mill at Stroud and is fined for levying excessive toll. Thomas Freme is fined for assaulting Thomas Chambers.

1. Wash, as in 'The Wash,' 'Washwell,' 'Washbrook,' = Wis : Uisge : Ouse : Usk : Esk : Isca : water.

Robert Myll, Vicar, is fined 4d. for not properly making the hedge belonging to the cottage (? Ludloes) he inhabits in Washwell. Thomas Frethe, John Frampton and Thomas Freme are fined for not keeping in order a lane by Grenhousgrene leading to Duddescombe (Dutchcombe). Wood-sale in the Manor this year was valued at 40s. and 4d. John Harmer, deceased, held a parcel of land calle 'Paradise,' at a rent of 12d. p.a., among other lands. His heir is Thomas Harmer, aged 40 years and more.

The actual status of the Manor-tenants will be more fully seen by the following Rental of Henry VII., A. 12 (1496) made by Thomas Gybbes, the Reeve, and others.

STROUD (Strode Tithing).

1.—Thomas Hall holds one messuage called Worgans, and two other messuages 'Blakmonny's' and 'Lovecots,' with 15 acres adjacent, rendering (to be paid every four years at the terms usual there) 8s. The same Thomas Hall has a Burgage in Payneswick with a parcel of land of a colbert (*i.e.*, tenant in socage) at 12d. p.a.

2.—William Browne has one messuage and half a virgate called 'Gerards,' at 12s. 2d.

3.—Thomas Freme has one mess: $\frac{1}{2}$ virg: called 'Combes,' 14s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and 1 mess: and farendel called 'Yalears,' 4s.

4.—Agnes Mynsterworth has one mess: and 1 far: called 'Facches,' 4s.

5.—Thomas Gybbes, one mess: 1 virg: called 'Bovenellis,' 22s.

6.—Rich: Tickell.

one mess: 1 virg: called 'Wades' }
one mess: 1 virg: called 'Sawnders' } 38s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

7.—John Browne; one mess: $\frac{1}{2}$ virg: called 'Brownes,' 11s. 9d.

8.—Thomas Ffeyr; one mess: 1 virg: called 'Blysses,' 24s. 3d.

9.—Will: Blysse; one mess: $\frac{1}{2}$ virg: and mill called 'Blysses,' otherwise 'Salmonys,' at 18s.

10.—John Pyncote.

one mess: 1 virg: called 'Jaggess' }
one mess: $\frac{1}{2}$ virg: called 'Hamonds' } 33s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
one mess: 10 acres lying in Blakmonnys, 3s. 1d.
called 'Trompers.'

- 11.—William Mede.
 one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called 'Blysses' }
 12.— two mess : two $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : " } 37s. 3d.
 13.—Edward Hamonde, one mess : 1 virg : called 'Hamondes,'
 24s. 3d.
 14.—Thomas Browne, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called 'Brownes,'
 12s. 9d.
 15.—Thomas Hamonde, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : 13 acres demesne-
 land, 9s.
 16.—Eleonora Pytte, two mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called respectively
 'Guds' and 'Pyttes,' 24s. 6d.
 17.—Robert Stevens, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called 'Kudde-
 house,' 12s.
 18.—Richard Pyncote, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called 'Brownys,'
 12s. 7d.
 19.—Richard Dyneford, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called 'Stevyns,'
 12s. 5d.
 20.—Thomas Blysse, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : and 1 farendal,
 called 'Blysses,' 25s. 4d.
 21.—Richard Adeane, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called 'Crompelyns,'
 12s. 5d.
 22.—Thomas Tayler, one mess : and a mill (water) with 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
 virgates and a farendel, at 39s. 8d.
 23.—John Colyns holds one mess : and 1 farendel called
 'Colyns,' at 5s. 4d.
 24.—Johanna Tonneley holds one mess : and 1 farendel
 called 'Wynarks,' at 7s.
 25.—Simon Colyns holds 5 acres of demesne land lying in
 Duddescombe at 14d.
 Sum Total - - - £21 9s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

EGGE (Edge Tithing).

- 26.—Richard Gyde holds one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : and 1 farendel,
 and 1 burgage called 'Gydes,' at 19s. 6d.
 27.—William Mynsterworth, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : called
 'Arnegroves,' at 13s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 28.—Thomas Skenerell holds two mess : 2 far : and other
 demesne lands called 'Skenerellys,' at 16s. 5d.

29.—Richard Canedisley, two mess : and 2 far : respectively ‘Canedisleys’ and ‘Taylers,’ 21s. 7½d.

30.—Joan Tonneley, two mess : 2½ virg : called ‘Tonneleys,’ 26s.

31.—Joan Mason, one mess : and 1 virg : called ‘Baldewynnys,’ 23s. 7d.

32.—Walter Wynneforde, one mess : ½ virg : called ‘Skenerellis,’ 15s. 11d.

33.—Walter Segrym, one mess : ½ virg : called ‘Skenerellis,’ 15s. 11d.

Walter Segrym, one mess : ½ virg : called ‘Mawnefeldes,’ (*i.e.*, Mandevilles), at 10s.

34.—John Bowrey holds two acres in Ifold demesne land, 12d.

35.—John Colyns holds two mess : 2½ virg : called ‘Colyns,’ 22s 8d.

36.—Nicholas Wheler holds two mess : 2½ virg : called ‘Holcotes,’ and a cottage and 9 acres, 40s. 5d.

37.—John Tykell, one mess : ½ virg : called ‘Tykellys,’ also a parcel of land in Ifold, and a cottage with appurtenances called ‘Pardys’ (Paradise), 19s. 11d.

38.—Agnes Mylls holds one mess : 1 virg : called ‘Kyngs,’ and a mill (water) called ‘Kyngesmill,’ and 1 burgage in Paynes-wike, also 1 mess : and 1 farendel called ‘Symyngs.’

Robert Mylls, husband of Agnes, holds one mess : ½ virg : called ‘Wallers.’ The same Robert Mylls holds a cottage in Painswick called ‘Todars,’ and 1 acre demesne lands, £3 7s.

39.—Walter Coke has one mess : 1 virg : called ‘Cokes,’ with a parcel of demesne lands, 24s. 8d.

40.—John Peck holds two mess : 2 farendels, called ‘Cood-house’ and ‘Dodds,’ also a burgage in Painswick called ‘Colyns,’ and a parcel of demesne lands, 18s. 8d.

41.—John de Chambers has three cottages and certain demesne lands lately in tenure of Walter Colyns, 5s., also with orchards, 6s. 8d.

42.—Thomas Smyth has one burgage, 2 cottages, 1 farendel, called respectively ‘Cefts’ and ‘Pyllehouse,’ 9s. 9d.

43.—Richard Churchey has two cottages and a parcel of demesne lands of which one is called ‘Belesowes’ and the other ‘Churcheys,’ 7s.

44.—Nicholas Wheler holds one mess: 2 virg: called 'Colettys.' [See No. 36].

45.—William Bydfelde holds one burgage, 2 cottages, 1 acre of demesne land at 5s.

46.—Richard Adeane holds one burgage, 2 acres and a garden called 'Denys,' at 2s. 10d.

47.—Florentia, wife of the late Thomas Bridge (Armiger), holds two burgages and 1 cottage, at 2s. 6d.

48.—John Gardener, one burgage called 'Harmers,' and another called 'Paynes,' and 3 cottages at 6s. 10d.

49.—William Lacye, one burgage called 'Tynkers,' at 8d.

50.—John Frethe, three burgages and 1 lundinate, called 'Westroffes,' and 'Clottes,' at 8d.

51.—Katerina Hogges, one burgage, lately in tenure of John Westroffe, at 10d.

The Feoffees of the Service' of Our Lady hold one burgage, and 12 acres, and one messuage, and a farendel of land. Also two cottages and a garden called 'Lycheffeld' and 'Denys,' and one cottage with 'lundinarii,' and other appurtenances, and a cottage lately held by Rich: Hyk, 1 acre, called 'Lyons,' and 1 bit of ground, called 'Perkehale,' and a garden next to the penfold there, 21s. 6½d.

52.—Thomas Heynes, one burgage, lately in the tenure of Alice Geoffreys, 10d.

53.—Thomas Tayler, two burgages 1 acre in Ifolde, called 'Wynnefords,' 2s. 6d.

54.—Rich: Feyrthyngel, two burgages, 4 cott: and 1 farendel, below Longridge, 21s. ½

55.—Will: Tykell, one cott: lately held by Simon Tykell, 8d.

56.—Will: Zelam, one cott: lately held by John Tayler, 8d.

57.—Eleonor Feyre, one burg: called 'Feyres,' 1 parcel of demesne land, 4s. 9d.

58.—Rich: Tykell, one cott: and close, 2 acres in Duddescombe, 3s. 2d.

1. Chantry-lands.

59.—Margaret, w. of Robert Cheney, Knt., 1 cott: called 'Smallridge,' 8d.

60.—Hen: Pytte, alias Deacon Smyth, one cott: 3 acres demesne land, 3s. 4d.

61.—Maurice Edwards, one burg: and 1 soldam (?), lately held by Rich: Halle, at 23½d., and 1 farendal next the Cross called Centres Crosse,¹ at 5s. 10d.

62.—Thomas Tykell, one mess: 1 Mondays land in Payneswyk, 3s.

63.—Thomas Pytte holds one mess: and 1 virgate, called 'The Castle,'² and 2 lundinates, at 23s. 11d.

64.—Thomas Mylle, 4 acres of Demesne land and others, 3s. 6d.

65.—Joan Twynnynge, one mess: 1 mill, called 'Twynnynges,' 19s. 6d.

66.—John Twynnynge, one cottage, called 'Ludlowes,'³ and 1 acre, called 'Duddesnappe,' 8d.

67.—Nicholas More, one mess: 1 water-mill, 2 cott: and demise of a parcel of demesne land, 32s. 4d.

Sum Total - - - £28 os. 12d.

SPONEBED (Tithing).

68.—John Frampton, one mess: 1 lundinate, called 'Packers,' 1 close and a garden lying near the boundary of the Manor there, and 1 burg: and 3 cott: 8s. 1d. A garden also, lately occupied by Alice Halle, 1s. 4d.

69.—Elizabeth Scott, one burgage, ¼ acre, and a parcel of meadow, 3s.

70.—Nicholas Combe, two cottages with curtilage, 1 acre demesne land, 3s. 11d. ½

71.—Will: Gardner, one cottage and curtilage, 17d.

72.—Thomas Pytte, one mess: 1 burg: and 1 farendel, and certain parcels of demesne lands, at 13s. 4d.

73.—Thomas Frethe, one mess: and a farendel of land, 7s.

74.—John Horewood, one mess: 1 cottage and parcel of land called 'Byggs,' 9s. 10½d.

1. In Friday Street. 2. Castle Hall, or Hale.

3. Now (possibly) the Vicarage, otherwise called 'Verlands' (since 1890). Here lived almost all the Vicars from Mary's reign onwards.

75.—William Poslow, one burg : and parcel of land, 10s. 10d.

76.—William Smyth, one cott : and parcel of land, 12½d.

77.—John Pecke, two burg : lately of William Pecke, and other lands, 13s. 6d.

Also one croft, called 'Bondecroft,' 2s.

78.—William Lacy, one burg : 2 acres called 'Shermannes,' 22d.

79.—Walter Wyndow, one mess : 1 virgate, called 'Wyndowes,' 24s. 6d.

80.—Richard Meryotte, two mess : 2 half-virgates, 24s. 4d.

81.—John Gybbes, one mess : ½ virgate, and 1 virgate, 34s.

82.—John Vine, one mess : and 1½ virgates, and a farendel, 29s. 4d.

83.—Walter Clotte, one mess : ½ virgate, and an acre of demesne land, 13s. 9d.

84.—John Mille, one mess : ½ virgate, called 'Bondes,' 13s. 5d.

85.—Cecilia Cole, one mess : 1 farendel, called 'Brownes,' 4s.

86.—Robert Frethe, one mess : 1 mill (water), 1 virgate, 40s. 7½d.

87.—Agnes, wife of John Pytte, one mess : ½ virg : called 'Cowleys,' 11s. 5d.

88.—John Meryman, one mess : ½ virg : 11s. 11d.

89.—Edward Raleigh (knight), one parcel of land in Edgworth, 12d.

90.—William Coke (junior), of Gloucester, one burgage in the town of Gloucester, called 'Smythstrete,' 9d.

91.—Thomas Bridge, three cottages, and various parcels of land there, and appurtenances, at 14s. 10d.

92.—John Mason, one cottage, called 'Yongs,' at 2d.

Sum Total - - - £14 18s. 11½d.

SHEPESCOMBE (Tithing).

93.—Thomas Bassett, one messuage, 2 farendels, called 'Crunches,' 13s. 10½d.

and another messuage, and ½ virgate, called 'Martynes,' 10s. 2d.

94.—James Mylle, one parcel of land, called 'Chesilande,' 2s.

95.—Elizabeth Mylle, one parcel of land called 'Mylleslande,' 5s.

96.—Richard Colyns, one messuage, 1 lundinate, and 1 cottage, 3s. 3d.

97.—Robert Fletcher, one messuage, 1 farendal, called 'Powls Pytte,' 7s. 4d.

98.—Simon Hardyng, one cottage, 20d.

99.—Thomas Pole (or Poole), one mess : and $\frac{1}{2}$ a virgate, and 1 acre, 12s. 5d.

100.—John Pole, one mess : and $\frac{1}{2}$ a virgate, and 1 lundinate, 15s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

101.—Richard Mylle, one mess : 1 water-mill, $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, 24s. 5d.

and one 'solidam' in Payneswyk, lately Rich : Scotte's, 6d.

102.—Richard Wynneforde, two mess : 2 farendels, called 'Brokehouse' and 'Coppehouse,' and another messuage, called 'Greenhouse,' and 1 cottage, called 'Dynnings,' and other parcels of ground, 31s. 7d.

103.—Richard Adeane, one mess : 1 farendel, called 'Grenehouse,' 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

104.—John Westroffe, one mess : $\frac{1}{2}$ virg : 1 farendel, called 'Wethers,' 29s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

105.—Rich : Adeane, one mess : 1 farendel, called 'Meys,' 8s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$

106.—John Aubrey, two acres in Washwell, 15d.

107.—William Adeane for lands which he holds, 8d.

Sum Total - - - £8 8s. 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$

THE QUARRIES THERE.

William Mynsterworthe, 12d.

Prior and Convent of Blessed Mary of Lanthony for the New Quarry, 12d.

John Harwoode and Thomas Tayler, the Friars' Quarry, 2s.

Thomas Tayler holds Battcombe Quarry, 12d.

INNS.

John Broke, 12d.

William Paynter, 12d.

Richard Wether, son of a villein for Cheminage (*i.e.*, road-keeping), 8d.

William Wether, son of Richard Wether, for assistance, 4d.

The following are those who carry venison for the Lord for an entire year, and one fealty :—

	d.		d.
Richard Queddesley ...	8	Richard Wynneforde ...	8
Robert Myll ...	16	Thomas Bassett, for 2 tenements	16
Maurice Edwards ...	8	John Fletcher ...	8
Agnes Mynsterworthe...	8	Richard Adeane...	8
Nicholas Møre ...	8	Thomas Freme ...	8
Feoffees of Blessed Mary	8	Item for Rabbits per annum	12s. 4

DAMSELLS.

108.—John Pekke, one parcel, called ‘Alinscroft,’ 2s.

109.—Edward Halle, one messuage and 1 virgate, 10s.

110.—Richard Colyns, of Shepscombe, one mess: 1 farendel, 8s.

111.—William Tykell, who holds ‘Le Ricister,’ and 1 pasture, ‘Wydcombe,’ 13s. 4d.

112.—Richard Farthingale for the Dodmede, also called ‘Lyndecroft,’ 9s.

113.—William Bridge for Dynneles and Pigghouse, 2s.

114.—William Lacye for Collecroft, 4s.

115.—Nicholas More, one pasture, called ‘Damselsmore,’ 8s.

116.—Richard Churchey, one field, called ‘Hazellande,’ 12s. 4d.

117.—Elizabeth Mylle, one field, called ‘Dodmedowe,’ 12s.

118.—Nicholas Wolde, one orchard, 3s., and for Cleycrofte, 1 red rose.

119.—William Tyckle, one croft, called ‘Hallecroft,’ 4s.

120.—Thomas Bridge, for the Hallehouse at Damsells, 4s.

Sum Total - - - £4 13s. 8d.

THE LORD'S FIELDS.

Wodham-mede, 20s.

Brodemedede, 2d.

Bangrove forwarded, 12d.

William Zelam for water-carriage, 4d.

Richard Churchey for —, 4d.

Robert Bygg, 4d.

The Abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, for water consumed within the parish of Standish, 2s.

The said Abbot has one messuage and 1 carucate (ploughland) of land at Ebbworth at 2s. per annum.

This document gives us, besides a faithful picture of the distribution of the Manor and its demesne lands, and the names of the copy-holders, and the fields, direct evidence of the drastic improvements effected by the working of the Earl of Shrewsbury's reforms. The Manor is seen also to be yielding more than treble the value it rendered fifty years before. Whereas, at the Earl's decease, (*i.e.*, A.D. 1453), it was reckoned to be worth twenty pounds, in 1495 it was worth seventy. Damsells, with its Hall, itself brings in £4 13s. 8d.—a sub-manor in itself. The entire Manor has undergone revolution and expansion. The town has a new spirit of prosperity. The Prior and Convent of Llantonny at this time, we learn from another source, rented Le New Quarr at an increased rent from John Grey, Viscount Lisle, the young Lord of the Manor (born 1479), and there can be no doubt that the present large Church then took the place of a smaller predecessor, to which the early English fragments with chevron mouldings and a crucifix of brass, found under the floor of the Nave, and seen by Mr Chew and others in 1883, must have belonged. The Vicar, during the re-building, was Robert Myll. The present Chantry Chapel was built and endowed at the expense of Walter Collins, who died 1493-4 (*cf.* the Church of St Mary at Painswick, p. 28), and whose lands are mentioned above, under No. 41.

The possessions of Llantonny, with lands and messuages in Ham, and those of Flanesford Priory, with Segrim's Mill (and around it) are not mentioned, howbeit, those of St Peter's, Gloucester, occur. Both of the former Convents' possessions were under the direct patronage of the Lord, and upon a very different footing to those of the latter.

CHAPTER IX.

A CUSTUMAL OR THE CUSTOMS OF THE MANOR, *TEMP*: HENRY VII., 1490 (?)

It is of interest to adduce at this point the Customs of the Manor belonging to Henry VII.'s reign, and, therefore, entirely contemporaneous with the tenants above-named. Offered to a friend of the writer as a 17th cent. document relating to Painswick, with one or two only less interesting ones, he recognised it to date at least two centuries earlier, albeit countersigned with 17th cent. writing. Its date can be no later than 1500, and probably it antedates this by some few years.

PAYNESWICK.

IN COM: GLOUC:

THE CUSTOMS OF THE SAID MANOR.

1.—In Primis the tenantry of the said Manor holdyth their messuages, lands and tenements by copy of Court Roll. Both 'sibi' and 'suis,' whereby they have estate of Inherytance, to them and theirs after the custom of the said Manor there.

2.—The tenants customarie there, tyme out of mind, have used to pay their rent yearly at 4 terms, usual and accustomed, and shall have a Reeve for to gather the same, after the custom and manner, and to pay the same yearly to the Lord. (The four terms were Annunciation, the Nativity of St John Baptist, St Michael, and Birth of Our Lord).

3.—Item: That one of the customary tenants ought to be Reeve to collect and gather the rents of the said Manor and to pay the same where the Lord

shall appoint him by his precept, and the same Reeve to be elected and chosen yearly by the Homage there, for, if the [said] Reeve by them so chosen do chance to embezzle the said rent, that, then the said tenants are bound by their custom to answer the Lord of the same rent.

4.—Item: The Reeve, upon his account, ought to have allowance of XXVIs. VIIIId. for his pains taken in gathering of the said rent, which allowance hath been used time out of mind.

5.—Item:¹ There are certain lands called 'Mundays Lands,' and the tenants thereof, by the custom, are bound to watch and keep prisoners taken within the said Manor one day and one night apiece, and to bring all such prisoners to the next Justice, or to the King's gaol, at their own cost or charge.

6.—Item:² There are certain other lands called 'Threttenes,' the tenants whereof, by the custom, are bound to carry venison for the Lord into such place or places as the Lord shall appoint, by the space of a day and a night apiece at their own charge, or else to stand to a yearly fine of VIIIId. to the use of the Lord of the Manor.

[7 & 8 are
one in Edit:
1660].

7.—Item: The tenants, by their custom time out of mind used, may give or sell their customary lands at their will and pleasure, making surrenders of the same, and deliver the same surrender in the Lord's Court, and giving the Lord a heriot, if it be heriotable, that is to say, for any yard or half-yard of land which the said tenant holdeth to give, or pay the best quick cattle, and in default of such cattle, the best household stuff.

8.—Item: The custom is and hath been time out

1. Left out of 1660 Edition.

2. In 1660 Edition, No. 6 is No. 5. In 1660 was printed the *Customes of the Manor of P.*, decreed in Chancery in a. 11, James I., and established by Act of Parliament in a. 21 in 35 Items. In 1688 Thomas Loveday printed the *Customs* in 33 Items. Threttenes = thirteens

of mind that, for any surrender made, or any reversion of inheritance taken, the Lord to receive a fine at his will and pleasure of the thing so surrendered or taken by reversion.

9.—Item: If there be any forfeiture [made] in any of the tenements there, that then the Lord shall rate the fine at his will and pleasure.

[This is 9 in
Edit: 1660] 10.—Item: At every surrender made in reversion no heriot is due until the death of him or her which made the surrender, nor none other advantage due to the Lord, but the fine only, &c.

[10—1660] 11.—Item: After the death of any tenant, the wife of the same tenant (if any such be) shall be admitted to her free-bench in the Lord's Court by the payment of a penny to have to her, during her life, paying such rents, customs and service thereof, due and accustomed.

[11—1660] 12.—Item: After the death of any such woman the same tenant or tenants which were in her tenure shall come and descend to the next heir on the part of the husband of the same woman, and for lack of an heir to the next kinsman or kinswoman of the same husband, if no surrender be made thereof before, after the said custom, without payment of any heriot for the woman which holdeth (held) by her free-bench, as afore is said.

[12—1660] 13.—Item: If any woman Inheritrix die seized of any tenement or tenements, and no surrender by her in her life-time made, that, then all such lands or tenements whereof she died seized shall come and descend to the next heir, after the custom and manner, paying a heriot for the same woman, if it be heriot-able, and relief, &c. (sic).

[13—1660] 14.—Item: That all tenants, by their custom time out of mind used, may sell their woods, timber-trees, and other fuel, and brush growing in or upon their tenures without license of the Lord or his officers.

[14—1660] 15.—Item: If a woman, holding by her free-bench, do marry sundry husbands at several sundry times, yet shall she enjoy the same during her life without forfeiture thereof.

[15—1660] 16.—Item: By the Custom (that) every yard and half-yard land, holden by Copy after the custom and manner, is heriotable, and the heriot to be paid at the death of the tenant that dyeth seized thereof.

[5—1660] 17.—Item: That all land called Mundays, Threttens (thirteens), Farendels, Burgages and curtilages be not heriotable.

[18—1660] 18.—Item: If a man have divers sons, and the eldest dyeth having issue of his body lawfully begotten, whether it be male or female, and after their grandfather dyeth the issue of the eldest brother shall inherit as next heir to the grandfather.

19.—Item: If a man dyeth having divers daughters and no sons, and hath so many yards and half-yards of lands as daughters, then shall every daughter, by the custom, have a yard or half-yard, and like order is of tenants, but if the tenant, so dying, have but one yard, half-yard, or one tenant having divers daughters, as before is said, that, then the same yard, half-yard, or tenement, by the homage and steward there, shall be praised to the best value, and the price thereof to be divided equally amongst the said daughters, saving the eldest daughter shall have her choice, whether she will have the yard, half-yard, or tenement, or portion of money so (to her) allotted by the said homage and Steward, and if she take the said yard, half-yard, or tenement, then she to pay the money to her other sisters after the praised price.

[Not in 1660] 20.—Item: That no man or woman that is base born shall inherit any land or tenement within the said lordship, except it be by means of surrender.

- [Not in 1660] 21.—Item: That none other (of the) Lord's bondmen shall inherit any tenure within the said Lordship.
- [20 in 1660] 22.—Item: That after the death of every tenant that dyeth seized of his lands or tenements within the said Lordship at the next Court there holden. Proclamation shall openly be made to enquire who is (next) right heir of the tenant so deceased or who can make any claim or title to the same tenure or tenures; and if at the first Court there come none to challenge the said tenure or tenures then there shall be Proclamation made (openly) at two other the next Courts there holden. In like manner as (it) is aforesaid, and (then) if there is none having right come to challenge the same, it shall be lawful for the Lord to lease (lett) the same tenure or tenures to whom he will, and the same to enjoy it ever, after the custom, except (thereby) that there be any having right by the same beyond the seas in the King's wars.
- [21—1660] 23.—Item: That whosoever is to be admitted to any tenure within the said Lordship ought openly to be admitted in the Court before the Homage, and to have his copy read openly in the Court that all men there may hear and know that he is admitted tenant accordingly. And if any person having right to any tenure by inheritance he is to be admitted tenant, then he ought to be taken and presented by the Homage; and if any challenge any tenure by surrender, that, then the surrender must be made either in the Court openly, or else be brought in into the Court by credible and sufficient witnesses, that it may be known by the Homage, and so to be admitted tenant as it is aforesaid, according to the custom there used time out of mind.
- [22—1660] 24.—Item: Whosoever taketh any tenure there of the Lord, he must take it either by means of inheritance of himself or his wife, or by surrender of some other that is an heir, or else by means of some forfeiture into the Lord's hands, and for lack of an

heir to challenge any tenure, the Lord may let it to whom he will, and it must be expressed in the Copy of the Taker, whereby he takes his tenure by right of inheritance of himself or his wife, or by surrender of any person, or by forfeiture into the Lord's hands, or by the default of an heir to challenge it, otherwise no man can take any tenure there, nor the Lord can take it otherwise by custom there used time out of mind. (sic).

Certain acts which, being done by the Tenant, are of themselves a forfeiture :

[25—1660] 1.—Item : If a tenant do give, or sell, any part, or parcel of his tenurements, or the whole, without surrender, it is a forfeiture.

[26—1660] 2.—If any tenant do let down his tenement, or part thereof, being peyned at ii. (two) Courts, to build the same by a certain payne, and the third Court on payne of forfeiture, and doth not build the same according to the order in the Court taken by the homage and the steward, it is a forfeiture.

3.—If any tenant commit treason, murder or felony, and is thereof by the laws of the realm convicted and attainted there, then it shall be lawful for the Lord to enter in upon his lands and tenement, goods and cattle, and them to have as a forfeit.

Item : If any being an inheritor to any lands or tenements do sell the same to any person or persons before he or she shall become tenant to the Lord in his Court, and do other suits and services according to the custom there, it is a forfeiture.

Item : If any tenant do detain or withhold any rents willingly which are due to the Lord, it is a forfeiture.

Item : If any tenant do convey any part of the Lordship to any other with intent to deceive the Lord of the same, it is a forfeiture.

(Countersigned in seventeenth century,

WILLIAM ROGERS de Payneswick.
p. Editt : 1668).

CHAPTER X.

THE LISLES — SIR CHARLES BRANDON, — SIR JOHN DUDLEY —
HENRY VIII. AT PAINSWICK—SIR ARTHUR PLANTAGENET—
THOMAS CROMWELL—THE KINGSTONS.

Upon the tragical death of Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, at Nibley Green, near Wotton-under-Edge, on March 20th, 1469, the Manor of Painswick had devolved, as we have seen, upon his sister Elizabeth, married to Sir Edward Grey, second son of Lord Ferrers of Groby, by Margaret, wife of Sir George Vere.

Sir Edward Grey then became Viscount Lisle in right of his wife, and remained Lord of Painswick and Moreton Valence until 1490 (17th July), when he died, leaving a son, John Grey, Viscount Lisle, aged eleven, and a daughter, Elizabeth. Their widowed mother survived to safeguard their property. During this last decade of the fifteenth century the Church of St Mary was entirely re-built,¹ and it is possible that the base of Sir William Kingston's tomb may have belonged to the tomb of John, Viscount Lisle, who died in 1504 (Sept. 9th), but more probably to one of his forebears, for its style and workmanship indicate an earlier date, while the appropriation of a Catholic Lord of the Manor's tomb by the representatives of a Protestant Lord under Henry VIII. (1540), would not be so strange as might seem; the Chantry Chapel having passed to the Lord of the Manor² with the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The canopy of the Kingston tomb is plainly very debased Tudor work by a different hand; while there are indications showing that the older portion, or base, must have originally occupied quite another position in (if not outside) the Church. At any rate, it is of 15th Century work, and probably belongs to one of the Viscounts Lisle.

1. How soon after this the Steeple was added we have no means of ascertaining.

2. Manor Courts have often been held herein.

John, Viscount Lisle, had married Muriel, daughter of Thomas Howard,¹ Earl of Surrey, by whom he left a daughter, Elizabeth, born 1504. Upon her mother marrying a second time, and to Sir Thomas Knyvett,² Sir Charles Brandon³ craftily obtained the wardship of the little heiress of Painswick, and, perhaps, with intention of future marriage, procured his own elevation to the dignity of Viscount Lisle, May 15th, 1513. On the 29th February of the previous year he held a View of Frank Pledge at Painswick, the local Jury being composed as follows:—

Robert Mills,	Nicholas Moore,
Rich: Deane,	John Loveday,
John King,	Thomas Pole,
John Pekke,	William Arnegrove,
Will: Wynfford,	Edmund Maunsel,
John Twynnyng,	William —.

At this Court it was ordered that certain tenants of the Manor should make the highways at Englishill and Gillashill = names of localities not quite identifiable to-day. Elizabeth Mille holds at 'Shepiscoombe' two messuages called 'Couches,' lately belonging to James Mille. John Marwent is admitted a tenant, and holds a field called 'Morecotes,' in the parish of Harescombe. John Loveday is a prominent mill-owner.

Sir Charles Brandon, in the following year (1514), proceeded to Paris on an Embassy, and there, obtaining the affections of the widowed Queen, Mary Tudor, he became elevated to the Dukedom of Suffolk, in order suitably to be her husband. Accurately speaking, he was created Duke two days after his wedding, February 1st, 1514. It must be, we think, supposed that in order to have been created, as he was, Lord Lisle, Brandon must have contracted to marry his ward, but this contract must have been cancelled when he married Mary Tudor. Nevertheless, he only surrendered his patent after the death of his ward (1519) on April 23rd, 1523.

1. Aunt of Anne Boleyn.

2. Cal: Pat. and Close Rolls (May 23, 21 Hen. VIII. Part 1, 1509). The King to Thomas Knyvett and Mereel, his wife, ye Manor of Payneswyk, Gloucester, Ribbesford, in Worcester, and Bedworth, in Warwick. So that Sir Thomas Knyvett held his wife's portion in the Manor, in her right.

3. Grandfather to be, of Lady Jane Grey. (Cf. Catal: Muniments of Berkeley Castle, p. 202).

Elizabeth Grey, Lady Lisle, and Lady of this Manor, presently wedded Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devon,¹ whom she predeceased without issue in (April) 1519.

Meantime, another Elizabeth Grey, her aunt, the sister of John, Viscount Lisle, had become thus heiress of Painswick. This unfortunate lady had married, firstly, Edmund Dudley, a lawyer, who, later on, was executed for forgery, together with Empson, in 1510, by whom she had become mother of John Dudley, afterwards Lord Lisle,² Earl of Warwick,³ and Duke of Northumberland.⁴ In 1511, Nov. 12th, she had married, secondly, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, natural son of Edward IV., by Elizabeth Lucie. On the death, therefore, of Elizabeth, Countess of Devon, the King created Sir Arthur Viscount Lisle,⁵ in right of his wife, and he became Lord of Painswick, with a moiety to her son, John Dudley.⁶ This Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle, died in 1526. In the following year Lord Lisle was sent to France as bearer of the Garter to Francis I. (Rapin 1, 773), and, in 1527, he married, secondly, Honor, daughter of Sir Thomas Grenville (and widow of Sir John Bassett), by whom he had three daughters.⁷

An Indenture, dated 22nd day of November, 1522, has been preserved, by which we learn that the Manor of Painswick and other manors (*i.e.*, Moreton Valence and Whaddon) were recovered by what was termed 'Writ of Entry in the Post' against Sir Arthur Plantagenet⁸ and Dame Elizabeth his (first) wife, to the use of Sir Arthur and any such wife as the said Sir Arthur should have after her decease. This shows us how he remained Lord of

1. He married, secondly, Gertrude, daughter of Wm., Lord Mountjoy, K.G., and was attainted and beheaded in 1538.

2. March 12th, 1542.

3. 1547.

4. 1551.

5. 26th April 1523. Date of Summons.

6. Dudley sold his reversion on Kingston Lisle Manor to Wm. Hyde in 1538. He himself became created Visc: Lisle, 12th March, 1542-3.

7. Bridget, m. Sir William Carden, Kt. Francis, m. (1) Sir John Bassett, (2) Thomas Monke. Elizabeth, m. Sir Francis Jobson, Kt.

8. In 1509, we find him an esquire of the Body Guard. In 1513, he escaped shipwreck on his way to Brittany. Next year, he became Captain in the Vice-Admiral's ship, called the 'Trinity Sovereign.' In 1519, he had livery of the lands of Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle (Courtenay). He attended the King at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was made K.G., and, in 1524, Keeper of Clarendon Park. Following this, he became nominated Vice High-Admiral. His wife Elizabeth, having died, he re-married in 1528. Foxe describes his attractive second wife, Honora, Lady Lisle, as 'incomparably evil.' We have evidence that she was very fond of Painswick.

the Manor of Painswick, with power to alienate or sell in conjunction with Sir John Dudley.

In the 20th year of Henry VIII. (Sept. 22nd, 1532), we find Sir Arthur, then Lord Lisle, giving and confirming lands and an annuity of £2 3s. 4d. to Thomas Blisse, of Painswick, for special services rendered to him, probably at Calais. It is likely that Lord Lisle drew upon his Gloucestershire properties for men to attend and follow him during his Governorship of that town, a post of responsibility which proved burdensome to his income. It brought him into close contact with the French Court, with Thomas Cromwell, Lord of the Privy Seal, and Sir William Kingston, K.G., Governor of the Tower,¹ both of these men of the grasping order, dangerously bent on accumulating properties. Both of them ingratiated themselves with Lord Lisle, and with his gay and sparkling second wife, with whom King Francis had not disdained to dance. To Cromwell he became indebted for help in a quarrel with Sir Edward Seymour over the possession of Porchester Castle, in July 1534. To Sir William Kingston, to whom Henry VIII. had given Miserden, and other Gloucestershire estates, and the Wardenship of all the Hunts in this county, he became indebted in some other way early in the same year or before, and had apparently leased, perhaps for sporting purposes, portions of Painswick Park and probably Ebbworth. Anthony, son of Sir William Kingston, was at this time Steward of the Manor of Wotton-under-Edge. Presently, Lord Lisle, urged by his increasing load of debt, was obliged to make an extensive wood-sale, namely, of 400 trees in the Park of Painswick. This displeased Sir William Kingston, who would thus appear at this time to have been living at Miserden, for he says in a nettlesome letter to Lord Lisle, "I never denied that your lordship might sell your own, and he that showed you so' lies falsely. I said to Smith, when he wanted me to buy it, that I loved it too well to destroy it, in so much that I wrote and prayed Mr Wyght and your servant (bailiff) Motley to buy it, and if they lacked money they

1. Sheriff of Gloucester, 1514. In 1522 he received a grant of much of the possessions in this county, of the Duke of Buckingham, executed May 17, 1521. Later on he obtained most of the Manors which had belonged to Flaxley Abbey and Llantony; among the latter Haresfield Manor and Park.

2. *i.e.*, that I did deny your right.

should have it from me. I never heard of Smith again until he had sold it to Button, who has done me many displeasures." (10th August, 1534). Kingston, no doubt, regarded the Park from a point of view of its hunting-value.

On May 26th previous, Smith had written to Lord Lisle:¹ "Whereas, by your commandment, Mr Aylmer, I, and others, sold certain woods to Mr Button within the Park at Painswick, for which he paid us in ready money, yet the wood is still standing, and Button can make no sale thereof because your tenants are threatened that if they buy any of your wood from him they will lose their holdings after your decease, if that happen in Mr Dudley's lifetime.² Thus, the gentleman is likely to lose all his money unless your lordship have regard to your honour in the matter, and will cause all men to be lothe to meddle with any like matter of yours. Mr (Anthony) Kingston,³ therefore, advised me to write this letter to you in his name and mine, for he wished the sale to take effect according to your letters."

We may believe that the felling of this particular wood would have proved exceptionally annoying either to anyone living at the Lodge, or anyone enjoying sporting privileges in the Park, and we cannot but conjecture that Sir William Kingston was for one or both of these reasons thus aggrieved; yet he pretended to approve of the sale. He already owned Miserden Manor by a grant from the King, but he wanted Painswick also.⁴

On to this dilemma now comes King Henry VIII., who, in July, 1535, visited Painswick and Miserden, with Anne Boleyn, while hunting during a visit to Gloucester.⁵ Sir John Dudley, the part-owner of the Manor, was now present.⁶ The latter, on August 8th, wrote to Lord Lisle as follows:—"When the King was at Painswick, he called me to him and asked if I had knowledge of a wood-sale that my Lord Lisle⁷ should make within the

1. Mis-addressed to Sir W. Kingston in the Domestic Papers of Henry VIII.

2. *i.e.*, Sir John Dudley, Kt., who possessed, through his mother, a moiety in the Manor.

3. Afterwards the notorious Sir Anthony Kingston.

4. The Kingston effigies in Miserden Church represent illegitimate issue of Sir Anthony Kingston.

5. A portion of Longridge was long known as 'the Queen's Wood,' and a parcel of land there was called 'Queen's Acre.'

6. Probably residing at the Lodge.

7. Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle.

lordship. I said I had heard of such a thing but not of late. The King said he had been told by Anthony Kingston¹ you had made a new sale of wood in the Park, and then he (A.K.) would not dwell in it if he might have it, for God amercy. The King desired me to ask the bailiff if it were true, as he could not believe it, so I called Motley, who said there was no such thing since the sale made to Button of 400 trees in the Park, which were not yet felled." This seems to point to Antony Kingston's chagrin (likewise natural) at the effects of felling the Park timber. He told the King he would not consider the place worth having at such a sacrifice of its value. It is thus evident that both Sir William Kingston and his son were looking to future personal acquisition of the Lodge and Park of Painswick.² But, further, "the King then desired that, anywise, Button should not have them (the trees) as it would ruin the lordship." (cf. Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Vol. IX., 53 in XXVII. Henry VIII.) From such expressions it might be conjectured that the King himself was desiring possession of the place. We shall find that Sir William and Lady Kingston ultimately did obtain the entire Manor, with the exception of certain Monastic properties contained within it, such as: the 'Abbey Farm,' 'Seagryms,' 'Combe House;' held respectively by St Peter's, Gloucester, Flanesford Priory (Co. Hereford), and Llanton, at Gloucester.

Leonard Smith having written to Lord Lisle on June 19th:— "I have been at (your manors of) Kingston-Lisle (Berks) and Payneswike with Mr Aylmere, where we viewed your woods, both within the Park and without, and have sold as much as we conveniently can at this time," it becomes certain that Arthur Lord Lisle's factors intended to go further had they not become hindered by the significant interference of interested parties as shown above. It is worthy of note (as shown in another letter of this correspondence, dated June 2nd) that the journey to London, on horse-back, occupied the best part of five days. "I intend," says Leonard Smith, "on Friday next, to ride to Payneswike by Mr Aylmere, and in four or five days to be in London again."

1. Sheriff of Gloucester, 1533.

2. We should recollect that the Kingstons, Cromwell, and the Seymours were all pre-eminent land-grabbers during the dissolution.

On the 18th July, Smith had once more "ridden into Gloucestershire for delivery of the wood sale at Payneswike." (Epist : 989).

To see all these people clearly we must note here that Smith, Aylmer, and 'others' acted by Lord Lisle's command and obtained ready-money payment from Button for the trees; and this is proved by the letters of May 26 and Aug. 8, previously cited. Yet, it would seem, the learned editor of the letters has made an error in writing 'Sir William Kingston' for 'Lord Lisle' in the said letter.

The reasons are these : (1) The letter speaks of "your tenants and their holdings." (2) Of "Motley, your bailiff there." Such phrases can only have been addressed to the actual Lord of the Manor, whom, we see, desired the sale. The Lord of the Manor was Lord Lisle, and Motley was his bailiff. That being so, and the latter proceeding to mention that "Mr (Anthony) Kingston advised me to write this letter to you in his name and mine, for he wished the sale to take effect," we should but for the above error deduce that Sir William Kingston and his son were of two ways of thinking about the sale. But, whether that was so or not, it is evident that a second sale of wood was projected, which was to the distaste of both the Kingstons, and that the King's presence was taken advantage of in order, if possible, to prevent spoiling, as they thought, the property they either hoped to live upon or which they enjoyed as sportsmen. Further wood-sales took place in 1538, early in which year Thomas, Lord Cromwell, the Privy Seal, seriously made up his mind to obtain Painswick Manor from its owner, and Honor, Lady Lisle, with whose marriage-portion it was charged, as well as the marriage-portions of Lord Lisle's three daughters by his first wife, Elizabeth (Grey-Dudley) Lady Lisle. By this date, Lisle was deeply in debt, and in his difficulty was endeavouring to obtain an annuity from Cromwell. The negotiations were of a protracted nature, and a great number of letters passed between the concerned parties, namely, Lord Lisle, Sir John Dudley, with their agents, and Thomas Cromwell. Lady Lisle, especially, played a great part in the sale of the Manor, as the following letter witnesses, while it throws further light on the position of the Kingstons.

“Lady Lisle to Lord Lisle. 16th November, 1538.

“As he (Lord Cromwell) said nothing of Payneswike, I opened the subject, saying Mr Pollard had moved me in his behalf for it, and that, though I had refused sundry great offers, seeing he was my good lord, I would part with it to him if he would see me no loser; provided this, his last request, was not for Mr Kingston (Anthony), but for himself. He promised me it was for himself alone.”

This makes it manifest that the Kingstons remained eager to possess the Manor, and that Lady Lisle and her husband especially objected to their doing so, she having taken a dislike to them.

On November 28th, Lady Lisle writes to her husband:

“I have acknowledged the surrender of my right in Payneswike and Moreton Valence on condition that when they are assured to my Lord Privy Seal he shall pay me an annual rent of one hundred and twenty pounds, but he claims the one thousand pounds, which was your interest after the death of your wife, in recompense for what he had done for us in our affairs. It grieves me, for, if it had not been for your displeasure, I never would have condescended thereto. He said your annuity should not be more than two hundred pounds, howbeit I will speak with the King before I depart.”

On November 30th:

John Hussee to Lord Lisle.

“My lady has surrendered her rights to Payneswike before a judge. The one thousand pounds is forgotten. Your lordship is like to be no gainer.”

Meanwhile, in the summer, during the suppression of the monasteries, the Crown granted to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, a fee of the site, ground, &c., of the dissolved Priory of Flanesford, near Gooderich (Hereford), together with its manor, within the Manor of Payneswike, which had been granted to it by his ancestor, Sir Richard Talbot, two hundred years before. And we must, for the moment, step aside in order to note of what this property consisted. We can do so by means of a document (Vol. X. Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls) of Philip and Mary, wherein we see John Bridges, Lord Chandos, holding them as tenant ‘pro Comes Salopiæ’ (for the Earl of Shrewsbury):

Eight Messuages	...	200	acres.
Fields	...	60	„
Pastures	...	20	„
—	...	50	„

= 330 acres.

This was situated chiefly where Seagryms' now is, and it included a water-mill, and a fuller's mill, then held by one, Thomas Oldfield.

So that the Talbots became once more possessed of certain ancestral Painswick lands, though not of the Manor itself, in the person of George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, the same who later was to be the custodian of Mary Queen of Scots. It is noteworthy in this connection that in his son's summons as Ambassador to France, he styles himself "Earl of Shrewsbury, Baron Talbot, Strange de Blackmere, Comyn of Badenoch, Valence, Montchensy, Furnival, &c.," thus summing up in his titles much of his Painswick Manor Ancestry.

The haggling between Cromwell and the Lisles did not finish until October 9th, 1539, when John Huntly writes to Lady Lisle: "My Lord Privy Seal is through with him (my Lord Lisle) for Payneswike, and my Lord (Lisle) has received four hundred pounds. I doubt not your jointure will be made sure this term." In Cromwell's Accounts we read (Oct. 6th), "My Lord Lisle, for purchasing of Payneswike £400."

And thus this Manor, together with Moreton Valence and Whaddon, passed by a tripartite Indenture² between Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle, Lady Honor, his wife, and Sir John Dudley, Kt., for which Cromwell covenanted to grant the two former an annuity of one hundred and twenty pounds during their lives, with clause of distress.

On October 16th, 1539, Sir John Dudley signed a Deed of Settlement made between the same parties and Cromwell, and a Release from himself on Oct. 19th.

Cromwell, accordingly, entered and took possession of the Manor, and was feoffed thereof. But, within eight months of his doing so, the great blow fell on this greedy minister, who, at the

1. Ayers Mill.

2. Cf. Appendix to this Chapter.

time of his arrest (June 10th), and execution (July 28th), was already to be found doing that which he had solemnly promised Lady Lisle he would not do, namely, passing the Manor of Painswick with its belongings over to Sir William Kingston by a deed of sale. By his attainder, however, all his possessions suddenly became forfeit. Sir William experienced no difficulty in obtaining them from the Crown by a grant in Fee in August following. In Vol. 15 (1027) of the Domestic and State Papers, Henry VIII., we read: "Sir William Kingston, K.G., and Mary, his wife¹—Grant in Fee of Manors of Payneswike and Moreton Valence, and all lands in Painswick, Moreton, Epney, Horsewarley, Stanley Pontlarge, Painswick Strode, Sponebede, Sheppescombe, Edge, and Edgeworth, Co. Gloucester, which Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, acquired of Arthur, Viscount Lisle, Dame Honore, his wife, and Sir John Dudley, which he sold to the present grantees; but which were forfeit by his attainder."

But, besides the Flanesford lands in the Manor we recollect that two other monasteries held lands in it, namely, St. Peter's, Gloucester, and Llanton Secunda, also at Gloucester. The lands of the latter, together with tenements and quarries were granted to Arthur Porter, Esq. It possessed a capital messuage called Combe House, which stood near Jenkins' Farm below the Rudge.

The Abbey of St Peter's held land, chiefly common land and pasture up at, and beyond, Ebbworth, in the Slad Vale, and a messuage, to the extent of perhaps one hundred acres. These became, a little later, granted by Edward VI. to his uncle Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset; while the advowson of the Church of Painswick passed to his brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

The decease of Arthur, Lord Lisle, K.G., two years later, 1542, under peculiar circumstances, is of sufficient interest to this narrative to deserve passing notice here. At pp. 181-2 of the Annals of England, 1542, by Francis, Lord B. of Hereford, Morgan Godwyn trans: London, 1630, we read:—

"About the same time Arthur, Viscount Lisle, naturall sonne of Edward the fourth, out of a surfeit of sudden joy, deceased.

1. This is the lady who repeated all that Anne Boleyn said to her in prison, to her husband, and he to Cromwell, to that Queen's destruction. Daughter of Sir R. Scrope, she had married Sir Edward Jerningham, Knt.

Two of his servants had been executed the preceding yeare for having conspired (with Sir Gregory Botolph, his Chaplain, and Clement Philpot) to betray Calais to the French, *i.e.*, Cardinal Pole, and the Viscount, as being conscious (was) committed to the Tower. But upon manifestation of his innocence, the King sent unto him Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Principall Secretary of Estate, by whom he signified the great content he had received in the Viscount's approved fidelity, the effects whereof hee should finde in his present liberty, and that degree of favour that a faithfull and beloved unkle deserved. The Viscount, receiving such unexpected newes, imbelished with rich promises and royall tokens (the King having sent him a diamond of great value) of assured favour, being not sufficiently capable of so great joy, free from all symptomes of any other disease, the ensuing night expired. After whose decease, Sir John Dudley was created Viscount Lisle,¹ claiming that honour as hereditary in the right of his mother, Lady Elizabeth, sister and heire to the Lord Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, wife of the deceased Lord Arthur, but formerly married to Edmund Dudley, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, beheaded the first year of the King's reign."²

SOME STATUTES OF THE MANOR OF PAINSWICK.

It is enacted that no tenant shall keep any dog to disturb the Lord's warrant, anno 9 Hen: VI.

It is ordered that none shall make any footpath over the field of Ham and Washwell, a. 9 Hen: VI.

It is ordered that none shall have ale to sell without license of the ale-tasters. Subpœna VI. VIIIId., a. 2 Hen: VII.

It is ordered that no butcher shall throw any dung in any part of the town, a. 10 Hen: VIII.

It is ordered that no inhabitant shall keep pigs continually ringed, a. 12 Hen: VIII.

1. 12th March, 1542/3.

2. 1510.

It is ordered that none shall suffer his pigs to go in the churchyard, a. 14 Hen: VIII.

It is ordered that none shall wash clothes or any other thing in the upper flowe at Towys¹ well. For every default a fine of 20d., a. 32 Hen: VIII.

It is ordered that none in this Manor shall wash, or cause to be washed, anything impure or vile at Tobyes² well. ap. 25, a. 8 Elizabeth.

It is ordered that no one shall wash the entrails of swine at Tibby's³ well, for default VI. VIII. d., ap. 17, 19 James I.

The Order in regard to the receiving of 'Lygght' persons is to remain as it was. In default 21s., a. 24 Eliz:

It is ordered that no wood shall be taken from Kimsbury Hill or from the adjacent common-land, and that no dogs be led to the Hill so as to worry sheep pasturing there. 6s. 8d., 17 ap. 19 James I. (1622).

It is ordered that no one shall keep more than 80 sheep for one virgate (30 acres) of land. 10s., a. 4 James I. (1607).

Among the important free-tenants of the Manor must be mentioned once more the Devonshire family of Raleigh at Edgworth. In the Rolls (a. 50 Edward III.) we find Thomas Raleigh de Charles recovered seisin of a third part of the Manor of Legh against Gilbert Talbot of Paneswyk, Chevalier. In 1420 (a. 8 Hen: VI.) his son William Raleigh holds 'Eggesworth' Manor, with advowson of its Church, as from the Manor of Payneswyk. At Lassington he holds two parts of the Manor as from the Manor of Churchedon, also Legh Manor, Northcote Manor, and land and a messuage at Turkdene. In 1496, Edward Raleigh, Knight, holds certain lands at Edgworth, and is the son of Anthony Raleigh. In 1512 (Esch. 5 Hen: VIII.), these are held by his son George (and Simon Raleigh, 1558) who appears among the Assessors of St. Mary of Painswick, with Sir Anthony Kingston, John Bridges,

1, 2, 3. Observe the various forms of this local name: Towy, Tobye, Tibby, probably all cognate with Tavy, Towey, Taw = a Celtic term for flowing water, as in Tavistock, Tow-cester, Tawton.

and Thomas Clinton, and is a free tenant in 1552 (a. 6 Edw : VI.) In 1596, a second George Raleigh is Lord of the Manor of Edgworth.¹

John West held part of Damsels by the tenure (or reserve rent) of rendering one red rose on St John Baptist's day, as had been ordained in 1313, at Painswick. (a. 7 Edw : II.) It consisted of a toft² and croft, and three acres of arable land in the 'Delle,' and up towards the wood called 'Longridge.'

Sir William Kingston, K.G., dying immediately after acquiring Painswick, and being buried in what had until recently been the Chantry Chapel of St Mary in the north aisle³ of Painswick Church (Sept., 1540), the Manor passed into the hands of Dame Mary his widow (d. 1546), and after her to his son by his first wife, Anthony. The Chantry Chapel had passed to the Lord of the Manor upon the dissolution of the Monastery of Llantony at Gloucester. The Chantry Lands now became granted out to tenants by copy of Court Roll, in fact, as copyholds. (See pp. 34-5 Hist. St Mary of Painswick). As to the Advowson of the Church, it had passed, as already mentioned, into the gift of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the Lord High Admiral, from whom it went presently by his attainder to the Crown, which, for the next fifty years, presented to the Living.

The Homage (pro Rege) of a Court held by Mary, Lady Kingston, on January 26th, 1548, contains these following names, some of which are still known in Painswick :—

Thomas Coke	Thomas Loveday (sen.)	William Tykell
Thomas Adeane	Thomas Loveday (jun.)	Walter Broke
William Mayle	John Oliver	William Whiting
Richard Gardener	Henry Baron	John Colyns
John Motley	Richard Coke	William Passelowe

1. In a MS. Volume containing Land Rents of St Guthlac, Hereford, belonging to Mr F. A. Hyett, of Painswick, I find these two items relating to Edgworth : "Item of the portions of Tithes at Edgworth, viz., the two parts of the Tithe of the Demesne there so demised to Sir James Lowe, Vicar of Bisley." a. 33 Hen : VIII. "Richard Hill, parson of Edgworth." a. 37 Hen. VIII.

2. Norse term.

3. Now St. Peter's Chapel.

The mill standing then in the bottom 'near the Park Pale' was called Borton's Mill,¹ and was tenanted by John Berry.

What is now called 'White Hall' was then called 'White-wall-end,' and Stamages Lane (under that name) did not yet exist. To what building the white wall belonged, is not clear. Wherever this name occurs we should expect ancient entrenchments.²

Thomas Browne is ordered 'to repair his house lying near the Cross³ at Castell Hale' before the next Court sits, under penalty of 5s. A controversy was proceeding between John Pytte,⁴ of Castle Hale, and Thomas Adeane, of White-wall-end. This duly was settled. There is recorded as treasure found at Pyncottes Crosse, le mattocke and two arrows, value XVIIId. The chief miller, as usual, was a Loveday. Thus, we know that there were many crosses about Painswick. One was called Senters Cross (? Centres) and beyond the town, towards the Park Gate,⁵ stood Damsels Cross, while, where Hale Lane leaves St Mary Street, stood yet another.

Elizabeth Motley, daughter of Amos Myll, the richest and most landed customary tenant in this manor, was the wife of John Motley, the bailiff of the Lises, previously-mentioned. She had rebuilt in 1529 her father's messuage and farm called Heryngs,⁶ to which pertained sixty acres, besides other land in Ifold, and a quarry in Sponebed, two shops called Petgrange and Placidas, in Painswick, and ground called Barons, Smiths, and Le Wayne House, and other ground adjoining the church wall.

Judging from the large amount of dilapidations ordered to be amended under various penalties at this period, one must

1. *i.e.*, where the two streamlets meet, and, formerly, made a long pool-dam.

2. White Walls occur in connection with earth-works near ancient roads in this county elsewhere, as well as near Sherston in Wilts. Being at the head of Wick Street nearest Painswick, or Wyke, it may well have been fortified in very early times, even before Pain Fitzjohn.

3. Called also the High Cross.

4. Died Easter, 1551. His wife was Alicia, and paid a heriot of one Ox to the lord for inheriting there.

5. Now a hamlet called 'the Park.'

6. Now part of the Park and gardens of Painswick House.

conclude that Painswick had been experiencing lean times. With the middle of the sixteenth century, however, England generally was becoming prosperous, many families¹ took their first start to distinction, or greatness, and it is certain that Painswick duly shared in that improvement, although her wealth came to her in the following century. Instead of being without glass in their windows, the poorer copyholders became enabled to afford glazing, and houses which had hitherto not known chimneys but single flues, now began to build them.² The well-to-do copyholders could indulge in oak-panelling, and plaster-work ceilings, and stone tiles from Bisley in lieu of thatching. In every street, probably, could be heard the sound of warp and shuttle within the houses. Life was definite and hard-working; there was no time to be idle, and self-respect was ever increasing with increasing freedom.

1. Like the Spencers, Cecils, &c.
2. Cf. Hall, 'Society in the age of Elizabeth.'

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

"A brief note taken of the conveyance of the Manor of Painswick to the Lord Cromwell Xr. (Chancellor) (1540).

"In that it appeareth by an Indenture bearing date the XVIIth day of November in the XIIIth year (1522) of the reigne of the king that the Manor of Payneswyke and other Mannors were recovered by a Wrytt of Entree in the Poste againste Sir Arthure Plantagenett and Dame Elizabeth his wiffe to the use of the said Sir Arthure and such wiffe as the said Sir Arthure shold have after the deceasse of the said Dame Elizabeth during their two lives with divers reversions.

"1. Item by another Indenture trypertyte dated the VIIth day of October anno XXXImo. (1539) Regis nostri Henrici. The said Sir Arthur Plantagenett, Viscount Lysle, Lady Honora his wife, and Sir John Dudley¹ knight bargayned and solde the said Manor of Paynswyke and other manors unto the Lorde Cromwell and to his heires in which said Indenture the said Lord Cromwell covenanted to and with the said Viscount Lisle and Lady Honora to make a sure and sufficient graunte of one annuite unto the said Viscount and Lady Honora during their lyffes of the some of one hundred and XX. li. before the feaste of the Nativitee of our Lorde then next insuyng.

"2. Item : A dede of feoffment made by the said Viscount Lisle and Sir John Dudley knyght of the said Maner of P. and other manners unto the said Lorde Cromwell and his heires sealed only with the sealle of the said Sir John Dudley dated XVI. die Octobris anno Regis Nostri XXXImo., and a releas from the said Sir John bearing date XIXo. die Octobris ao. R.N. XXXI. (1539).

"3. Item, the said Lord Cromwell recovered the said Manor of P. and others by wrytt of entree in the Post against the said Viscount Lisle and Lady Honora his wyffe with a voucher against

1. Dudley having a moiety in this Manor as in Kingston Lisle, Berkshire, which latter was the head of the Barony of Lisle. He, it will be recollected, was the son of Elizabeth, Viscountess Lisle, by her first husband, and was destined to become Duke of Northumberland and father of Robert, Earl of Leicester.

the said John Dudley knyght in Octavis sci Michaelis anno XXXImo. R.N. and entred and took possession accordingly and was thereof feoffed by fforce of the said recovery.

“4. Item: In quindena Michaelis anno R.N. XXXImo. the said Sir Arthure (and) Dame Honora his wyffe and the said Sir John Dudley knight by ffyne (fine) knowledged (sic) all there ther (sic) ryght in the said Manor of Paynyswyke and other to be the ryght of the said Lord Cromwell and his heires by the which said ffyne the said Lord Cromwell graunted unto the said Viscount and Lady during their lyves one annuell rent of the some of one hundred XX li. poundes with the clause of Distress.

“5. Item: By another Indenture bearing date the Xth daye of December anno R.N. XXXImo. the said Lorde Cromwell covenanted and graunted unto the said Viscount and Lady Honora that if it ffortuned the said rent graunted by ffyne afforesayd to be behind unpaide after any of the dayes of payment in which it ought to be paide by the space of six weekes, that then the Lord Cromwell his heires, executors and assignes shall paye or cause to be payde unto the said Viscount and Lady Six Poundes XIIIs. IIIId. with a clause of distress in the said Manor of Paynyswike and other mannors.

“6. Item: It was enacted by authority of Parliamēt that the said Lord Cromwell sholde fforfeitt unto our soverayne Lorde the Kynge all his honours, mannours, lands, tenements and hereditaments whereof he himself or any other person or persons to his use were ffeaffed of estate of inheritance in ffee simple ffee taill in reversion or possession at the laste daye of March anno R.N. (Regis nostri) XXXmo. or any tyme syns (since?) saving to all and singular person and persons bodies pollytyke and corporate and ther heires and successors and the heires and successors and assignes of every of them other than the said Thomas Lorde Cromwell and to his heires and all and every other person and persons clayming by the saide Thomas Lorde Cromwell and to his use all suche ryght tale entree possession interests remainders, reversions, leases, commodities, ffees, offices, rents, annuities, commissions and all other commodities, profits and hereditaments whatsoever they or any of them mought shold or ought to have had yff this Acte had never been had nor made.”

CHAPTER XI.

THE ORIGINAL COURT-HOUSE—THE CASTLE—THE MANOR LODGE THE PARK—THE ALTAR-STONE.

The great Court-house of this Manor, no doubt had occupied a site close to the private mansion built (c. 1593) by a Copyholder, and since 1680 called 'Court-house.' It had already been pulled down and had vanished before Edward VI.'s reign; how long before that date it is not quite possible to determine, but when it was in existence and used, it had been the residence of the Lord of the Manor, of the great Earl of Shrewsbury. The site remained a vacant spot until 1595, and is often described as such in Court-rolls. In the grounds, obstructing the cultivator, were probably remains of the still earlier 'Castellum, or fortified mansion, of Pain Fitzjohn, now represented only by the name in Castle Hale,' and perhaps by the abundant nettles in Court-orchard. The Earl of Shrewsbury,² as we have seen, for special reasons gave up his household at Painswick circa 1445, and soon after that period the Court-house environment was, like other reserved portions of the Demesne, divided up into virgates, or yard-lands, and half-yard-lands, and let out to copyhold tenants. In 1495 Thomas Pytte had the 'Castellum.' Presumably, the Court-house (which is not mentioned, however), was already destroyed. Manor-Rolls of a. 8 Elizabeth, sixty years later, speak of the ground as that "whereon stood formerly the Court-house." (*Olim constructa fuit.*)

What then was the status of the Manor-Lodge, which we know, instead of the Court-house, came to be the residence here of the Kingstons and Jerninghams and of Sir Ralph Dutton, and remained such down until 1831. A 'Lodge'

1. 'Hale' here stands for Hall: not for 'Hale'=the stocks.

2. Created Earl, a. 20, Hen: VI.

was the necessary adjunct to every deer-park,¹ where the owner could enjoy the pleasures of the chase and the Ranger could attend to his many responsibilities. The enlargement of this Lodge sometimes converted it into the Manor House, though it retained its old name. In many cases such a Lodge became the substitute for the Hall, Castle, or Court-House. It was usually placed so as to command a good view of the Park. The younger brothers, or sons, of knightly or noble families, often held the office of Ranger or Parker.² Sir Maurice Berkeley and William Bassett kept the park of Painswick in 1512, and doubtless resided at the Lodge. Later a little, probably from motives of economy, Arthur, Lord Lisle, retained it alone as a residence for his hunting, being mostly employed elsewhere. But the oldest parts of it (as has been pointed out), antedate his time by quite a century,³ as, of course, does the inscribed altar-stone. It was therefore (it is presumable) of sufficient importance in (c) 1403 to have a chapel of its own, and for Nicholas, Suffragan of Worcester, to dedicate its altar. It was a capital messuage, probably resided in at first by the younger scions of the Talbot family, and later by the Greys, their descendants, and the Kingstons, after them, as Lords of the Manor.⁴

The history of the Lodge probably should date back to the twelfth or thirteenth century, when first the Manor was emparked, *i.e.*, at a period at least earlier than A.D. 1260; but we do not know how far anterior to this date. Seeing, as has been shewn, that the Park was plundered by marauders who drove off deer, in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., it is clear that a Lodge, and a substantial one, was necessary and perhaps not yet in existence. This, the Talbots certainly made, or re-made, in (c) 1400. In this, again enlarged and mostly re-built in Henry VII.'s reign,

1. Thirty-one Parks are mentioned in Domesday Survey. HAYS, or HALÆ, were enclosures within the adjacent woods for the purposes of entrapping deer. A park was usually walled with stone or oak-pales.

2. Hence the names of Forester, Foster, Parker.

3. The Tudor ceiling-beams or stone-door labels may well be even a little before his time.

4. After this had been appropriated as a Manor-House, another Lodge, possibly the vanished one, formerly known as PANS LODGE near Juniper-Hill, became the residence of the Ranger. After the Park had ceased to exist, this became a dwelling-house and belonged to the Hyett family.

Arthur, Lord Lisle, and the Kingstons resided in 1540-1562, and the Jerninghams and Roger Lygon, Esq., after them, including their later sometime substitute, to whom the Manor with all its rights became let to farm in 1636, namely Sir Ralph Dutton, Knt., who is described as of 'The Lodge, Painswick,' in contemporary documents. (See Chapter XV.) The 15th century re-making or re-building of 'The Lodge' must have occurred when the Manor was in dower to Ancaretta, Lady Talbot, mother of the first Earl of Shrewsbury, when Sir Gilbert Talbot II. was the young lord and John, the future hero and Earl, his younger brother. But only a small wing of this re-building remains, being the present northern side of the house.

Let us therefore examine and describe the house, or so much of it as remains. From having been until 1831 a four-sided house² enclosing a paven court-yard, it has since that date lost all but the north and east sides, thus leaving it the form of the Letter L.² On approaching from Painswick it is the short, or oldest, arm of this letter which first presents itself to us.

The whole building is beautifully situated, backed by the Saltridge and Salcombe, so as to survey the spacious timbered hollow, once comprising the Park, toward Longridge on the left; Painswick with its vale, directly in front of it, while, on the right, or north, it looked across to 'Paradise' with the over-peering ridge of the entrenched British camp. Many elms of the date of George I., planted by the Jerninghams still remain, especially they are seen skirting the square field immediately behind (E) of the house, which no doubt formed its garden.³

The northern wing consists, then, of the base of the L, built in two unequal sections. The lowest in altitude, shortest in length, and the oldest of these, is the western-most half of it, easily to be distinguished by the drop between the respective roofs; for, from the northern face of it at this point of junction projects the

1. Wife of Sir Richard Talbot II., ob. 1396.

2. As described in the Auction Leaf of that year:—"An ancient quadrangular mansion."

3. In 1616 (a. 13, James I.) William Osborne surrenders with other land and mills and messuages all the ground lying between the part called 'Hazelhonger Mead' and the 'King's Highway,' leading from 'Painswick Lodge' toward Gloucester, to the use of Thomas Jernegan (Gent.) son of Henry Jernegan, and a minor.



THE LODGE (East Side)



THE LODGE. PANNELLED ROOM

modern dairy, somewhat concealing the junction, and its lean-to roof also closing out some of the lights of a 15th century window. To the right of the projection, on the ground floor, is seen the graceful two-light said window here represented, the date of which may be attributed to (c) 1420. Beyond this occurs, externally still, a modern buttress, and then we come to a curious little projection from the western termination of the north wing. This projection rises in two floors into a gabled stone-tiled roof, originally without a chimney, and consists within of two very small chambers, the one above the other, measuring 7 feet and 6 feet, with a height of about 8 feet apiece.

The lower of these is gained on its western face through a pointed exterior door, which, however, does not open from the vestibule itself, but from outside, into a small vestibule. From the latter another even stouter stone doorway, 2 feet in width, lets us through direct on our left into the lower chamber. This, on either side of it carries a low stone bench (not original) leading up to a relatively-modern fire-hearth and inserted chimney at its further (or north) end. On the right wall, at 2 feet above the stone bench is seen a small splayed light, and on the opposite side, at 3 feet above the bench, is a two-light window, also splayed in a wall of 1 foot 4 inches thickness. This is a later insertion than its fellow. At 8 feet above the floor occurs the wooden ceiling, now without its plaster. The modern filling up of the wall of the vestibule tells us that once the room communicated immediately with the rest of this wing.

The question now arises, for what purposes were these exceedingly small rooms, one above the other, designed? The stone benches and fire-place in the lower one, are, although old, certainly not original. In this case, the functions of this chamber have been changed by their insertion, and it has been, in its latter days, used perhaps as a porter's chamber. In earlier days it may well have been the 'necessarium,' with another, adjoining the bed-chamber, above it.

The south side of this wing is found possessing a modern lean-to verandah, which, in imagination, we ought to clear away. The original wall of the house beneath this is seen to be pierced by two stone doors near to one another, having sharply pointed

heads. The first (w) of these enters the flagged room terminating the wing. On examining this room the wall on the right of entrance is soon seen to be but an inserted partition of late date. We stand therefore in but a section of some large chamber. We must get behind that wall. We consequently go without and enter the second of the arched doors. Once within this, we notice the large plain corbels on both sides, carrying the beams which support the upper floor, and now perceive that we have the rest of the aforesaid large chamber. At its eastern end is a stone (closed-up) 16th century fireplace, measuring 5 feet in width, chamfered and brooched. Opposite, on the north wall, and nearly up to the partition, occurs the two-light 15th century window. Taking away the partition, then, what would be the dimensions of the original chamber? These are found to be 27 feet in length by 18 in width. The bed-chamber above, corresponded to the size of this one. Let it be remarked that wherever we go in the house there is evidence that owing to its great curtailment after 1831, the larger surviving rooms have been divided up by means of inserted partitions.

Beyond these rooms we come at once to a larger hall, now divided into three portions and more, the principal one serving as the present kitchen and being richly panelled with oak on all sides. A glance at the roof rib-mouldings tells us clearly that they are Tudor. The fire-place is at the northern side. At the northern-most corner occurs a newel-stair gained by an old pointed door. This room will have formed one of the important withdrawing rooms of the house at all periods. It may have well been the chief dining-room. The panelling is taken from other rooms and passages. In this case the newel-stair led to the formerly fine chamber above it, as the drawing-room to which the family retired after meals; but which has likewise been divided up by partitions. The oak-panelling here is comparatively of late date, and the door leading to the Tudor entrance from the court is ungracefully jugged into the room at the opposite corner. This can all be easily made out by the visitor. In spite, therefore, of its reduced proportions, this still remains a noble room. The windows, with occasional exceptions, have round moulded mullions.

The next room, on the east adjoining this, reveals the same Tudor roof-ribs travelling on, and beyond that embracing the small 'made' room to the main staircase of the house. On to this stair opens the present porch, a modern addition to the four-centred Tudor doorway within it. To the right of this door, within it, we find a thick main wall marking the termination of Tudor work. The room on the right, though not modern, has undergone complete transformation since the sale of the property. The windows have been moved from their original places, and their mullions have departed. The large bedroom above this is panelled with oak,¹ moulded in the characteristic Stuart manner, probably the work of Sir Henry Jerningham, Bt., (1625) or of Sir Ralph Dutton (1636-46). In such a room, his friend and master, King Charles may have slept when here in 1643. There are no other panelled rooms left.

Although there is reason for believing with Lady Bedingfield² that "the mansion was at no time a grand one," there is sufficient remaining evidence that it must have been a very desirable one, and we can only regret that the two other wings of it, one of which must have contained the chapel, have been demolished. The lower half of the altar-stone of this chapel is at present inserted above the door of an out-house. The inscription in Gothic letters upon it runs thus :

" + Istud Altare dedicatum est in honorem Sanctæ Trinitatis et omnium Sanctorum a Nicholao Episcopo Suffraganeo. + "

Above it can be seen undisturbed the inserted stone (Painswick stone) that covered the particular relic, whatever that may have been, contained in it. Three out of its five crosses remain.

The said Nicholas, as before mentioned, was Suffragan of Worcester in 1403; so that its presence here tells us of the existence of a chapel to the Lodge as far back as the reign of Henry IV., unless by chance it was removed from the original 'Court-House' of the Talbots in Painswick, after its demolition and the enlargement of the 'Lodge,' say c. 1450.

1. Much of this has been removed since 1831, and what remains has thin old cornices of deal.

2. Cf. The Jerningham Letters.

CHAPTER XII.

SIR ANTHONY KINGSTON—THE GALLOWS—THE LYGONS—A MANUMISSIO—THE VICARAGE.

During the time of Queen Mary (1553-8), Sir John Dudley, having risen during the previous reign upon the ruins of the Seymours—both of Thomas, Lord Sudeley, and of the great Protector—to the dignities of Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (1551) involved himself notoriously in direct antagonism to that Queen, and in 1553 he suffered together with his sons on Tower Hill. He is mentioned here only as having been intimately connected with Painswick, and actually here, in the manner already shewn. Mary, Lady Kingston, died in 1548 and was buried at Leyton in Essex.¹

Sir Anthony Kingston, who now became Lord of the Manor of Painswick, was made 'Admiral of the Ports' about the Severn. Henry VIII. had granted to him Flaxley, Newnham, Haresfield, Stanley St Leonards, and Miserden, and had knighted him in May, 1540. If we may trust, as perhaps we may do, local tradition in this instance, Sir Anthony also set up and endowed a gallows at Shepscombe together with a prison at Painswick, and that being so, we cannot doubt but that these two quiet valleys witnessed many a gruesome execution. The Shepscombe gallows was indeed still standing, or rather, falling to pieces in 1775 (cf. *Complete Gazetteer of England and Wales*, vol. 2), and it was situated crowning the sloping triangular bit of green just below the Church, where lately stood a copper-beech-tree.²

On February 9th, 1555, Sir Anthony, as Sheriff, superintended together with John, Lord Chandos and Sir Edmund Bridges of Prinknash, the burning at the stake, in Gloucester, of Bishop

1. Where is her epitaph. A miniature of her is in the possession of the Right Hon: Sir Hubert Jerningham, Bt.

2. Planted many years ago by Rev. Jos. Baylee. This tree was killed by contact with some lime thrown down during the erection of some cottages overlooking it, 1901. An oak has replaced it, 1904.

Hooper. "Care was to be taken that he should not speak either at the stake or on his way to it. He dined at Cirencester the previous day and reached Gloucester at 5 p.m. probably by the Ermine Street. The road, for a mile outside the town was lined with people, and the Mayor was in attendance with an escort to prevent a rescue." (Cf. Froude, *Hist: of England*).¹

During the reign of Edward VI., Sir Anthony had distinguished himself by his ferocious activity (1549) as Provost Marshal in suppressing for the Protector Somerset the Rebellion in the West. This left its mark especially in Devon and Cornwall, where he is said to have hanged the Mayor of Bodmin and many more. It was probably as Sheriff of the County of Gloucester that he set up a gallows at Shepscombe, although it is certain that somewhere in the said Manor the early lords likewise maintained a gallows.

On the surrender of St Peter's Abbey at Gloucester (1540) of which he was Steward, Prinknash House and Park were rented by him from the Crown on condition that he should preserve annually for the King's use forty deer. He and his father were manifestly professional grabbers of Abbey lands, in company, as we have seen, of Cromwell and the Seymours.²

On December 11th of the same year (1555), Sir Anthony became committed to the Tower by the Lords of the Council "upon a contemptuous behaviour and a greate Disorder lately committed in the Parliament House. The Queen, however, caused Sir Henry Bedingfield to take the prisoner to her at Greenwich, and upon his humble submission she set him free." It is likely this may have been helped by the influence of his kinsman, Sir Henry Jerningham, Master of the Horse, who had been lately employed against the Norfolk rebels.

"They have put me in the Tower for their pleasures ; but so shall they never do more," were the words said by Wootton to have been used by Kingston.³ And no sooner was he released

1. A charred stump of the stake at which he was burned is in the Museum of Gloucester.

2. Probably it was they who named a portion of Longridge Wood 'Queen's Wood' and 'Queen's Acre,' as these used to be called, in memory of Anne Boleyn's hunting there with Henry VIII.

3. His suicide, as will be seen, alone prevented this consummation.

than he entered into a conspiracy with Sir Henry Peckham, Christopher Ashton, and others, to send Queen Mary out of England to Philip, and make the Lady Elizabeth queen. Kingston was to control the western marches with 10,000 men and to cut off Lord Pembroke if he made resistance. He was then to march on London.

This precious scheme was betrayed in March to the Council, with result that Peckham, Throckmorton, Daniel and a dozen more were seized and sent to the Tower. Sir Anthony¹ was arrested at Cirencester, but died on his way to London, it is thought, by his own hand; some, however, say he plunged, horse and man, into the river and was drowned while escaping. Upon his death, at the age of 37 years, he was succeeded in Painswick and Haresfield by his half-sister's child² and heiress, Frances, then wife of Sir Henry Jerningham, with whose descendants it remained until 1803.

With the reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) we become familiar with such names as Olivers, Motleys, and Tocknells, which are still clinging on as place-names in and about Painswick. And although the Kingstons are dead, we obtain further mention of the gallows and Jack's Green. William Motley (Anno. 8, Eliz:) holds as a free-tenant a field containing half a yard-land with pasture, and a parcell of a land, for the services of constructing the gallows for the execution of felons, of making a ladder and halter (capistrum)³ and acting as Tithing-man, as did his father John Motley [for Sir Anthony Kingston] faithfully before him. One Giles Knowles, Thomas Niblett, William and Agnes Canton, are fined for playing at tables and cards contrary to the Queen's statute. The Constables are Thomas Clissold and William Kynge.

1. Arms of Kingston, Quarterly 1 and 4 azure, a cross betw: 4 leopards' faces argent; 2 and 3 ermine betw: a chevron and a chief, a leopard's face, all sable. Supporters, 2 cockatrices.

2. He left two natural sons: Anthony and Edmund, on whom he settled parts of his estate, including Miserden, by a deed of enfeoffment in 1547, and a daughter, Derrick, who had married in 1551, John Andrews, Esq., of Haresfield. Her marriage occurs in the Painswick Register.

3. "Be it known that the aforesaid William, John, and Robert Motley tithing-men there (Shepscombe) shall have and enjoy one acre of land one half (? each) in consideration of the fulfilment of their office (*i.e.*, executioners.)"

A few years later, Thomas Gardner, among other properties, holds "unam vacuam placeam terræ juxta murum cemiterii pro redditum per annum 2d. et unam parcellam terræ vocata Courte-Orchard pro redditum per annum 6s. 7d." He held 119 acres in all, including 78 arable and 20 acres of pasture.

The specially interesting fact here given is his tenure of the Court-Orchard, and a waste or vacant spot adjacent to the Cemetery of the Church. Before him, John Osborne held the very same vacant place 'juxta le Courte-Orchard, et etiam vacuam placeam terræ, supra quo dict' le Courte-House olim fuit constructa,' a void place once occupied by the Court-House. In time the Gardeners built a three-gabled mansion on the spot; which Dr Seaman, D.C.L., bought from them and to which he added a wing.

John Poole has a cottage and garden in New Street. John Wantner has Herings. Elizabeth Collins has two holdings, one is called 'Holcombe' and the other 'Collins.' Each has a messuage. Richard Canton has a tenure called 'Vineyard,' evidence perhaps of attempted wine-making here. 'Mandeville's Field' is held by Thomas Mower.

Among important tenants is Roger Lygon* (Armiger) who (by Indenture dated a. 8, Eliz: 21 July), held a messuage called 'Martyn's,' with 'Prior's Quarry,' 'Brodemead,' 'Lady Barn,' 'Lady's Mede,' 'Crouches,' 'Pounds,' two acres in Washwell, a bleaching mill, and two other quarries, at a rent of £40. Later (a. 41, Eliz:) in the reign, Arnold Lygon, the son, takes from Henry Jerningham (jun:) and Eleanor, his wife, a lease in the Manor of ten messuages, two mills, and 20s. rent in Painswick, to have and hold for eighty years after their decease, if the said Henry Jerningham, father of Henry Jerningham (jun:) do so long live, rendering a peppercorn at St Michael's feast. "The said Arnold Lygon hath from the said Henry Jernegan £1,000." His son, John Lygon, J.P., we shall see, acted as Registrar at Painswick 1653-1656 and was buried in St Mary's Church, Aug. 10, 1656. In the eighth year of Elizabeth (1565) the tenantry of the

1. Near Pitchcomb.

2. His wife's effigy is at Fairford. Richard Lygon at this time had Matson. (1565). Cf. Trans: B. and G. Arch. Soc: 1891-2, p. 123.

Manor held 959 arable acres, 266 pasture, and 176 acres in fields, wood and waste = 1,391 in all.

John Gybbins and Agnes Jerden are given license to have, repair, and to use a certain road leading out of the Wick Street 'meet and convenient after the due course of Husbandry,' and they are to make a gate, and to provide a lock and key to the same. The road commences at a place called 'Swinfield,' occupied by Jane Blysse, widow, and goes as far as certain land, called Drixton. John Gybbons and Agnes Jerden being under-tenants of Bridges, Lord Chandos (for the Earl of Shrewsbury), Jane was fined next year (1566) for stopping the said road. This may possibly be the stone track, now called Nightingale or Lovers' Lane, descending above the Sheephouse. Lord Chandos held these for the Earl of Shrewsbury, who (we have seen), recaptured in 1539 the lands in Painswick granted by his ancestors in the 14th century to Flanesford near Goodrich, which included also 'Seagrim's.' These were among the so-called Chantry-Lands.¹ 'Bulcross' is mentioned as being near 'the Frith.'

The Lovedays, William and Walter Watkins, and Thomas Horrup, are prominent tenants in the tything of Duddescombe, including the 'Pyllhouse.'²

It will be of interest to adduce here a 'Manumissio' or conversion of a villein or Bondman into a free-man, dating the tenth year of Elizabeth (1567):

"MANUMISSIO. PAINSWICK.

"22nd March, a. 10, Elizabeth.

"George Blysse came to the Court of Frank Pledge and showed his manumission in the following form:—

"To all Christian people that shall see this present writing Henry Jernegan, of Payneswick, in the Countie of Gloucester, knyghte, and Lady Francis his wyffe, conveyeth greting in our Lord Godd everlasting. Whereas George Blysse aforesaid, called George Blysse our bondman or vylleyn, the sonne of William Blysse decesaed, our bondman or vylleyn, was and is

1. In a memorandum M.S. attached to the Chantry Certificate (a. 2, Edw. VI.) it is stated "that one Sheephouse and meadow, parcel of the said premises arrented at 20s. by the year, is now detained by Sir Antony Kingston, Kt., by what title they know not." Cf. Hist: St. Mary's Church, p. 33.

2. Pilling Cloth.

commonly called knownen taken had accounted and reputed prevely and apertely—Know ye that we the said Henry and Frances for certain good and lawfull consideracions us moving, have for us and our heires manumitted and from the yoke of servitude and vylleynage delyvered and discharged and by this our present deade now we do manumitt delyver and dyscharge for ever the said George Blysse and his heires of his body and all his sequell and progeny of his body gotten or to be gotten and all and singular goods catells lands tenements and other perquisites to which he the said George hath or att any time hereafter shall gett and have. And ye shall also understand that we the aforesaid Henry and Lady Francis have remysed released and for us and our heires quyte claymed And by these presents do remyse release and quyte clayme to the seid George all his heires sequells and progeny of his body gotten or to be gotten all manner of reall and personall su(i)ts querells services trespasses debts demands whatsoever they be which we the seid Henry and Lady Frances have had or hereafter shall or may have in anywise against the said George Blysse or any of his heirs sequells or progeny of his body by reason of the vyllenage or servitude aforesaid or by any other cause pretence or color from the beginning of the World unto the day of the date of these presents. So that neyther we the seid Henry and Frances or any of us or one or any other for us in our names Shall or may from henceforth have exact sue clayme demand or any manner of ryghte tytle accord interest of vyllenage or bondage agenst the said George Blysse his heires of his body sequell or progeny goods cattells lands tenements or any of them by writt of our sovereign lady the Quene accom (?) in the Law Sute or otherwise but thereof be clerely excluded and avoyded for evermore by the seid presents And we the seid Henry and Frances and our heires the seid George Blysse with all his sequell and progeny begotten or to be gotten agenst all people shall warrant and defend by these presents.

“Dated XXII. day of November of the eleventh year of the reign of our Lady Quene Elizabeth.”

John Gardner is styled ‘Clothier.’ (a. 10, Eliz:) James Workman, John Gardner, Henry Twinning and others are fined for trespass in the lord’s woods.

Thomas Horrup is conceded the use of water flowing in a field at Ifold.

The lord's Seneschal is Richard Carygue¹ (gentleman).

Goods belonging to felons sold in Painswick:

A calf, a horse, 14 sheep, 6 lambs, 45s.

A bedstead, 1e flock-bed, 6s. 8d.; 1e pyllowe, 1e boulder, duos le blanchettes, 1e coverlett, tres le pewter dishes, 2 le salt-sellers, 2 le platters, 12 farthings, 3 le stands, 2 le payles, 2 le cowles, a chair, 1 le daysbourde (dice-board), 1 le tab-bourde, 1e woden quarte, 3 le formes, 1 le sedelopp, 2 le snodes (?), 1 le turne, 1 le boulting-whiche, 1 le hogshead, 1e presse, 1e shelve, 1e cheserak, 1e skole, 1e skope, 1e saddle, 2 le coffers, 1e axe et hatchet, 1 falx, 1 le wedge, 1e pot-hooks, lyniks, 2 le crocks, 1e cawdron, 2 candelabra, 2 le broches, 1 le cadder, 2 galline, 1 gallus (cock), 1 sow, 2 pugiones cum cultellis (metal spurs) (?), 1e spokeshaft, 1 wool weight, 1e wynnowing kype, 1e bagge, 1 le peyre of tynninge cuffs, 1 le girdle, 1 le horse-collar and traces, total value £3.

The felon was John Jakes (a. 4, Eliz:) who was hanged, after trial before Sir Thomas Throckmorton and George Huntly, Esq., J.P., probably on Shepscombe gallows.

A house is mentioned as 'domum Sancti Johannis' (a. 6, Eliz:) Barton's (or Borton's) Mill lies near the Park Poole. Combe-House, in Ham, lies on the lower side of a field called 'Oldfield.' John Osborne rents the vacant place where the Combe-House in Ham was built formerly.³ Lullingwell (worth) contains 2½ acres, in tenure of Richard Hilman.

The Park-gate is near Bangrove in Washwell. Thomas Blysse dies, and the lord exacts heriot of a spade and a shovel. His land lay in Stroud-end. His widow, Joan, is admitted successor. Usually the heriot is an ox or a bull. Daniel Pearte, Esq., is Steward of the Manor. Isabel Gardener holds besides 'Court-Orchard and a void place against the wall of the Cemetery,'

1. Richard Carick or Carygue. (Cf. Trans: B. and G. Arch: Soc: 1891-2, p. 81).

2. A Church House. This recalls to mind that the two saints of Llantony Priory to which our Church had belonged were St Mary and St John.

3. Near Jenkin's Farm.

Badcombe, Brode Redding, Cleypytte, two acres in Ifold, the house of the late Roger Gardener and four acres, another house and ground called Cromplyns, a garden near Castel-Hale-style, &c. Thomas Gardener is her kinsman and Elizabeth is his wife (a. 1, Eliz:)

Thomas Blysse (2) to whom Arthur, Lord Lisle, gave a pension for services, dies without heirs. He held two cottages in Painswick, and two acres in Ifold (An: 1, Eliz.)

Rev. Lawrence Gase, Vicar of Painswick, is admitted tenant of the Manor and to a house and land in Painswick. (Anno 1, Eliz.)¹ This fact places this vicar a few years earlier in the Vicarage than has hitherto been known to be the date of his tenure. Evidently Queen Mary's Vicar had to relinquish his post at her decease, and a new vicar was instituted.

The Chantry-lands and their holders have been detailed in the volume on the Church of St Mary.

A close called Woosall's Hale in Stroud-end tithing is mentioned (a. 3, Eliz.) on account of a way to be made through it, which has occasioned a controversy between Jane Blysse and Edward Stratford. A water-course had been turned aside by Jane Blysse's father in consideration of his paying 2d. a yard to Stratford's father.

The name for the Frome is usually the 'Wyckwater.'

We now (Eliz: a. 5) find the Olivers, Pooles, Gydes, Whitings, Kynges and Bancknetts much to the front. The Gardeners, Hamonds, Osbornes, and Pyttes continue to be among the chief tenants, and the Lovedays, the chief millers. Thomas Clynton (Armiger) and William Staple are important holders at Stroud-end. Rev. Lawrence Gase is dead (a. 6, Eliz:) before September, 1563, and a house of his called a 'Backsyde' is vacant in the tything of Sponebed. His holding is claimed by Johanna Roberts, by her free-bench, and she is admitted.

1. This was 'Ludlows,' which seems to have been the usual Vicarage. Though still so-called until the end of the 18th century, I have been unable to identify its position in the Town: though most probably it may have been situated where the house called 'Verlands' now stands.

A MANOR ACCOUNT.

14th Queen Elizabeth, 1572.				£	s	d
Rent of Assize in Manor of Painswick of the Free and Customary Tenants and of the Chantry-lands for three parts of the year ending with the feast of St John the Baptist						
				59	6	10½
Half-year's rent of the Park and of the Demesne-lands. So leased to Roger Lygon, Esq., and payable at two feasts in the year at St Mary's Day and Michaelmas						
				20	0	0
Profits of a law-day, 25 April. Heriots, common fines, strays				9	2	9
Total				£88	9	7½

Wood-Sale.				£	s	d
In the Frith 'nexte Duddescombe'						
				48	11	0
" Cudhyll				1	17	4
" Detcombe				6	7	8
" Longridge				45	10	10
" The Park				2	7	2
" Harsfeld Wood				1	10	0
" The Redge Wood				7	1	4
" Kymesbury				25	6	10
" Rowname (No. 36 in Tithe-Map, 1842)				8	16	0
Total				£147	8	1

John Dereham (Gent.) Bailiff.

Item paid to John Battye for 1,000 large pales for Payneswicke Park	100s.
Item to same for pullynge of the seyd pales from the water ...	XXd.
Item for charge of meate and drinke att the carrying of the Lord's pales from Gloucester being 10 wayne lodes	6s.
Item for 100 yards of grey ffryce sent up to my Ladie	£4 3
[Lady Francis Jernegan is 'Wydowe' (a. 14 Elizabeth).]	
Item paid to Thomas Loveday for the carrying of the same ffrice to London	2s. 4d.
Item for the Charge of John Osborne one of the said Accountants for his Journey into Norfolk (Cossey) to my Lady, concerning divers matters (XVth year of Eliz.)	XVIs.
Item for reparacions to the Lord's Pound being very ruinous ...	13s. 4d.
[Lady Jernegan owns the Manors of Whaddon and Harsfeld and Moreton Valence and Tewkesbury Park].	
[Roger Lygon's servant is Alex Standish].	

Item of Mr More, for his Rent; and Mr Restells, for the Castell-
Medowe of Gloucester, due for the said half-year ... LVI XIII^s. IV^d.
Item for money to be given in my lady's almes this yere to the
poor people in Tewkesbury 33^s. 4^d.

Richard Lygon at this time had Matson Manor (1565).
Arnold Lygon at this time was a tenant of Lord Berkeley at
Rolls Court (1574).

CHAPTER XIII.

PAINSWICK 1566—1615.

A CHURCH-HOUSE—LIFE IN PAINSWICK—DEARTH—THE SEAMANS
AND COURT-HOUSE — THE JERNINGHAMS — LITIGATION —
REVISION OF THE CUSTOMS—INCREASED PROSPERITY OF
THE COPY-HOLDERS.

In the ninth year of Elizabeth we find mentioned a Church House in North Street (Gloucester Street) situated beside two granaries (Horrea). Earlier mentions of this Church House gave us its dedication as Domus S^{ci} Johannis, *i.e.*, House of St. John, recalling the fact that the Convent of Llantony at Gloucester, which had so long owned the Advowson at Painswick, bore the double Dedication to St Mary and St John. It may have stood near the site of the present Congregational Chapel.

The following facts are derived from Court-rolls:—

William Corbett (probably the former Chantry-Priest of this name), holds by Copy (dated a. 31 Henry VIII.) a cottage and garden by the Church-Style. There is a white cross in Washwell, as well as a pyke-gate. Elizabeth Chambers has a cottage next 'The Butts' in Ham, called Hachinsmore. We have already mentioned Hambutts as having been referred to in documents of 1430. John Merriman, likewise, has a cottage and garden 'infra le Butts' (within the Butts), *i.e.*, the abutments of the original Copy-hold strips of land upon the Demesne Land of the Manor. Elizabeth Collins holds 'Collins' and 'Holcombe,' two houses. John Mylls has 'Damsels,' 'Hallcrofte,' 'Ryecroft,' a fishweir, and Wysals Grove. Brook-house belongs to Walter West; Salmons to Thomas Shewell, with a mill. Thomas Twinning lives at the Frith-house (query, the later Pan's Lodge?). The well in the field next Lullingworth is called Lulling-well. A cottage next 'the Grove' is called, after a previous owner, 'Pallings,' spelt, also, 'Pawlyns.' Pyll-house and Rogers are

tenanted by Walter Watkins. There are two void spaces in Painswick; one is called 'The Green-Lay,' and the other is the site of the old Manor (or Court) House, which is held as a field by John Osborne, by Copy of Court-Roll, dated Sept. 6, 1557. Green-house belongs to John Twinning. Le Syches (Cf. W. Sych=dry), in Washwell, is referred to. There is another Cross, called Limbrick's Cross, in Hawfield.

William Collins, butcher, is fined for selling meat unfit for human food. The Beer-vendors are allowed to sell a wine-quart of ale for $\frac{1}{2}$ d., as well within the house as without it, but they may not sell flat-ale at the same price. The Baker is to sell two loaves for a penny. The Gardners and Lovedays are the chief 'Clothiers.'

The following facts are more grim: William Motley continues his office of Executioner, and keeps in repair, at Shepscombe, the Gallows, halter, and ladder belonging thereto, by which service he holds, of the Lord, an acre, a messuage, and a half-yard land. This should be 'Jacks' acre at Shepscombe. Richard Loder late of Painswick, having been hanged at Gloucester for sheep-stealing, his goods are sold, consisting of a bed-stead, two payles, one barrell, two pieces of pewter, &c. Agnes Angus is ordered to mend her hedge between her garden and the Court Orchard. The Public Springs, Washwell, Toby-well (Tibby-well), and one in Friday Street are strictly supervised. Richard Carick, Esq., is the Steward of the Manor.

A foot-path from Pitchcombe to Strode passed across lands held by John Osborne of 'Seagryms,' called 'Bridesmead,' 'Maple-mead,' and 'Middle-leaze.' He denies it to be a right-of-way. The arbitrators, having heard both sides, declare that a path ought to exist there. John Bourne exchanges with Thomas Davys a close called Church-close, at a spot called, commonly, 'The Lane,' near Wick Street. Bulcross is near the Frith. Thomas Clissal holds 96 acres, including 'Wadds,' in Stroud-end.

The acres held by the tenantry were: 959 Arable; 266 Pasture; 176 Meadows.

Sir Henry Jerningham and the Lady Frances are Lord and Lady of the Manor.

Thomas Duck, is to replace, as it was before he altered it, the water-course in Hazle-hanger Dell (a. 11 Eliz.) John

Aylbridge is to put in order his hedge between Vicar's Hill and the Vicar's Barn at Washwell, within eight days, or be fined xd.

Later in the long reign—an increasingly prosperous period for the Manor—we find the same families holding, for the most part, the same properties. But in 1596-7 there befell a great dearth, probably caused by a far-spreading murrain among the sheep and cattle, and Painswick suffered severely like its neighbours.—“Oppressed with such number of poore, miserable people that there could be no reliefe for some.” Many of the Mills had to dismiss their hands and close, besides the loss of wages to those who washed and sheared the animals. The Gardeners, chief mercers by trade, were nevertheless sufficiently rich to be building a three-gabled house on the long-vacant site of the ancient Court House of the Manor, the land and site being now Copyhold from the Lord of the Manor. Thomas Pytte, likewise, was building Castle Hale, the site of which had been held by his forebears for a century, together with 30 acres of land. We shall return to these presently.

At Edgworth, still held of Painswick, George Raleigh, Esq., and his son, Edward Raleigh, held the Manor, as the last five generations of their ancestors had done (Cf. *Pedes Finium*, a 44 Eliz., Vol. XVII., p. 198, Brist. & Glos. Trans. Arch. Soc.) As the Litigation between John Myll and his sons and Henry Sturmy, concerning their respective rights to the pasture lands at Ebbworth, formerly belonging to the Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester, is fully referred to in the History of the Church of St Mary, Painswick, it need not be dilated upon here, except to recall that it was decided before the Right Hon. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and is to be found in the Proceedings of the Court of Chancery, p. 202. Its main object was to establish right of Common. The mention of North-bury field (*i.e.*, North-barrow) is interesting, and this applies also to Woobwell and Gatley, though the writer has been unable to identify the latter localities. Woobwell is also described as being on the north side of Ebbworth. There is also referred to “the way that goeth to Gloucester; Stone Hill in all the north part of the way.” This should refer to the road from Ebbworth to Cranham.

The Rogers family, afterwards of Castle Hale, appear at this time to be rising in the social scale from having been small holders on the Manor. Thomas Rogers succeeded Mr R. Carick as Steward, under whom he had probably become qualified for such responsibilities. The gentility of many families has arisen in like manner.

A person of note at this time in the Diocese of Gloucester was John Seaman, D.C.L., presently its Chancellor. As his father (who died Nov. 6, 1604) was a Woollen-Draper in Chelmsford, then living at Panfield Priory in Essex, it is possible that Seaman became acquainted with Painswick through the parental commerce. That he may have come here purely on Diocesan business is, however, not unlikely. But he did not procure as his residence the new mansion of the Gardners, afterwards called Court-House, until after 1608. For, on Dec. 24, a. 4 James I. (1607), Thomas Gardner, the elder, surrendered the messuage and demesne which he has 'from and in' a close called the Court-Orchard, containing three acres, more or less, rented at 4s. and 4d. per annum, into the hands of the Lord of the Manor (there was no heriot upon it), to the use and profit of Thomas Gardner, his son, who presently passed it on to his brother, John Gardner, paying a fine of £1 12s. 8d. The Orchard had not then the precise extent which it has now; for, at the southern end of it, where Stamages Lane now leaves the modern road, were two, or more, cottages with gardens rented by Margery Whitehorne. These were conceded on Oct. 10, 1616, to John Seaman, D.C.L., as Copy-holds, at a Court of Frank Pledge then held. At this period he seems to have bought and settled in the house of the Gardners, and to have built on to it a south wing with an oriel window; at the same time purchasing various fields and farms, and cottages, both at Painswick, Pitchcombe, and Wythington, in this County. In his Will he calls the residence 'my now dwelling Mansion House at Painswick.' The writer's conclusion as to his coming to settle at Painswick is that it related to the part he took in the adjustment of the great Suit at Law between the customary tenants of the Manor and their Lord in 1614-15, before the Court of Chancery. His daughter, Mary, was baptised at Painswick, Jan. 5, 1615. This is the earliest date marking his residence here:

and on Feb. 1, he signed the 'Exemplification of the Enrollment of a Decree made in the High Court.' He died, June 30, 1623, or six months before the Decree was confirmed, his Will being dated Oct. 7, 1622. A copy of this latter document (which I owe the sight of to Mr Ellis Marsland, the present owner of Court House) tells us that he leaves £5 to the poor of Painswick, and that if his son, Samuel Seaman, marries, he desires him and his wife to live in 'the new Mansion House.'

In 1614, then, came to a crisis a serious dispute between the Lord of the Manor and his tenants. It was one typical of the period. The value of the land was much enhanced, and the Lord desired to benefit by the fact.

The main ground of the difference between the Lord and his tenants was an alleged grave infringement of the time-honoured customs of the Manor on the part of Henry Jerningham, the younger, the then Lord, to the prejudice of his tenants. These latter felt the firm ground quaking beneath their feet,¹ and desired a reliable security by means of legal mediation between themselves and their Lord, so as to preclude all prejudice to their interests in the Manor and its customs for the future. They felt this all the more acutely because differences between themselves and Henry Jerningham had already occurred in 1585 (28 Eliz.), which, however, had led to definite agreement. The main point of the new difference arose concerning the wardship and custody of the lands of Infants (under 21 years) to whom any customary estate or copyhold lands did usually descend upon the death of ancestors. The Lord had declared that he ought to have the wardship and custody of such infants, and, by virtue of this wardship, he might grant out their lands during their said minority. The tenants of the Manor, on the other hand, declared that the immemorial custom of Painswick Manor had been that this wardship and custody belonged not to the Lord, but to the next of kin, until the said heir should be of full age.

1. "The oppressed tenant knew where his remedy lay, and was exceeding apt at discovering the same, to his lord's confusion. If evidence of the customs to which he appealed existed, it was sure to be forthcoming, and when produced it was equally certain to receive due recognition at Law. Every free tenant had the counterpart of his lease, and every copy-holder his copy of Court-Rolls, both sufficient title-deeds against the mere rapacity of their Lords."—H. Hall, *Elizabethan Society*, p. 30.



COURT-HOUSE (East Face)



Henry Jerningham (the younger), therefore, put forth his claims to the wardship and custody of the lands of one William Barnes, and began regranting them, the said William Barnes being then but ten years of age. Thereupon, Giles Carter, who was his stepfather, and Agnes, his mother, put forth their counter-claims. It should be stated that Henry Jerningham, the younger, had had the Manor made over to him by his father during the latter's life-time, and he probably took too old-fashioned a view of the seignorial privileges.¹

In their answer, Henry Jerningham and Thomas Neast, Esq. (his agent) stated that during the minority of any infant to whom any copy-hold lands of the said Manor did descend, by the death of his ancestors, the Lord of the said Manor ought to have the wardship and custody of the said lands. The tenants, while formulating their opposed opinion as a grievance, complained that all the documents relating to the Customs, &c., of the Manor, were out of their reach, being in the possession of the defendants.

The result of this was that a commission was appointed to examine an Indenture made in 1592 (anno. 34 Eliz.), between Henry Jerningham, the Elder, and his tenants, as well as the witnesses for both sides. This commission presently resolved itself into a special committee consisting of Mr Thoresby, a Master of the Court of Chancery, Mr Bridgman, and Mr Coventry, Counsel for the respective parties, who, between them, should examine all the Court Rolls, as well as copies held by the tenants, and the depositions of the witnesses. It must be stated, to the credit of all parties in this Manor, that the best spirit prevailed between them, rendering the prospect of future accommodation promising.

THE DEFENDERS' PRETENCES. OBJECTIO I. [Fragment, 1614, showing some of the respective points of friction].

[Chronicle	THE TENANTS stand much upon an old roll which they call the
Abstract	Lord Talbot's roll, supposed to be made at a court, holden
of Office].	Anno Domini, 1400, by John, Lord Talbot, Erle of Shrewsbury, wherein he graunted to them divers annuities and

1. It must be borne in mind that since the then recent Reformation a great and improving change in the relationship of the tenants to the land had set in. "Land was no longer regarded as a military or labour fee, but as a serious industry and profitable investment. For half a century a violent land-fever raged in town and country." (Cf. Hall, *Society in the age of Elizabeth*, pp. 26-7). "The great object of the Copy-holder being to obtain at any cost a freehold in his tenure to the extent, at least, of an estate of inheritance; and that of his lord to benefit by the greatly enhanced value of the land." *id.* —

released many service untill then used. But the Roll hath bene justlie suspected to have bene forged, there being no Court-Roll nor other record to warrant the same. The reasons of the suspition are :

That Lord Talbot were not created Erle of Shrewsbury until 20 H. VI., which was 40 yeares after.

The Manor at that time was in dower to (the lady) Ankaretta, sometime wife of Richard, Lord Talbot, who died tempore R. II.

[The customes] pretended to be then [made, were made] long after, and many of them are still in force, and have been ever.

. . . . there made between them

RESPONSIO. Whereunto the pl(aintiff) doth answer

That Mr Jernegan, the elder, was but tenant in tayle . . .

That the fine acknowledged by him 34 Eliz: was . . .

That he was then ignorant of the customes, and was . . . therefore

That there was no valuable consideration given, but was done in consideration of love.

That the tenants are no corporation, and, therefore, should have bene particularly named, whereas the indenture is made betwene Henry Jernegan, the elder, and the then tenants in general, not naming any, of which tenants, being then 200 at the leaste, there are not now X living that subscribed to the counterpart of the Indenture.

That there is not in the Indenture, covenant, nor word, for the releasing any ancient customes or creating any [new ones]? only he doth ratifie and confirm the articles following to be and remayne as customes, whereof some are repugnant to the law, some tend to the destruction of the mannor, and others are unreasonable direct, and contrary to the true and auncient customes of the said mannor, as by all the Courte Rolls, until the making of the said Indenture, it doth evidently appeare.

Altho' the Defendants have made prooffe of these pretended customes in the sute, wherein they are plaintiffs (^{prove patet} as it appears) in the brief of that cause, which depositions are by order to be used in this cause.

1. That the defendants have combyned

(with) Thomas Gardner, Mercer, B 18 int. 6, 7, 8, by writing to levy money to mainteyne suit with the complaynant. The copie of the writinge which is proved by those witnesses.

2. The Conveyance of the Mannor 34 Eliz: to the use of Henry Jernegan, the elder, for lief, the reversion to the pl(ace) for his lief. Proved by

The Deed
Thomas
Ridley
B. 1, mt. 2, 3.

- Another question had arisen, likewise, for settlement between the tenants and the Lord, namely, touching the fines to be paid to the Lord upon any exchange of land made among the tenants. “ We find that the said tenants have used to make such exchanges, paying for every acre to the Lord of the said Manor for his Fine, the sum of four pence, which rate we hold meet should be ratified, allowed and confirmed for ever. These things being so digested, we moved the tenants that they would be content to raise among them some reasonable sum of Money, to be bestowed on their land-lord for his favour and good-will, which they very dutifully and lovingly yielded unto, and upon our motion did agree to pay unto him the sum of one thousand four hundred and fifty pounds ; that is to say, five hundred and fifty pounds at, or before, the fifth day of December now next coming ; four hundred and fifty pounds upon the fifth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, 1614, at the Church Porch of Paynswicke ; and four hundred and fifty pounds residue upon the fifth day of December, which shall be in the year of our Lord God, 1615, at the place aforesaid ; which money we have wished, and the said Mr Jerningham hath undertaken, shall be bestowed in such sort that the benefit thereof may redound, not only to himself, but to his wife, who hath a jointure in the said

1. Cf. Hist. of the Church of St Mary, Painswick, for names of the holders.

Manor, and to his son and heir, John Jerningham, in whom we find the Inheritance of the said Manor, expectant upon his father's death, is by good conveyance settled; and the said tenants have likewise assented that, whereas by the said Indenture it is declared that they ought to have the Herbage and Pannage of the common woods, common hills, and wastes of the said Manor; and it standeth proved by witnesses that they ever enjoyed the same, and the Lord hath been wholly excluded thereof. The Lord of the said Manor, for the time being, may, for the better breeding and increase of wood, inclose one full third part of all the woods and wood-grounds of the said Manor which do now lie open, and in common saving the waste ground called Sponebed-hill, alias Kimsbury-hill,' or Hawking-hill, whereof he may inclose five and twenty acres in such places and manner as the same parts so to be inclosed have been lately set out by the Lord and tenants; and that the said Lord may keep the same parts so inclosed from time to time, according to the Statutes in that behalf; and, also, that the Lord of the said Manor, for the time being, shall have common with the said tenants in the waste and commonable grounds aforesaid, after the rate and proportion of two yard lands, and no more, for the land the said Lord now hath, and for such lands as the Lord of the said Manor shall hereafter happen to have common, after such rate and proportion as the tenants of the said Manor have, or shall have, wherewith the said Mr Jerningham is well contented: in respect of all which we hold it meet, if it shall so seem meet, to this honourable Court that the said Indenture with such explanations, alterations, and additions as are before set down, &c., should be Ratified by the Decree and Authority of this honourable Court, against the said Henry Jernegan (Jerningham), the elder, and Henry Jernegan (Jerningham), the younger, and Elinor, his wife, and John Jernegan (Jerningham), his son and heir apparent, &c."

Then follows a Schedule containing the names of the Copyholders of the Manor of Painswick, and what sums everyone of them is to pay for their several tenements and at what times, according to the Report of Henry Thoresby, Esq., one of the

1. Kynimers-Barrow.

Masters of the High Court of Chancery, John Bridgman and Thomas Coventry, Esq., made in the Court of Chancery, Nov. 27, 1614 (a. 11 James I.) (For this see Appendix). To this Deed the said gentlemen subscribed their names.

On February 1st of the following year (1615) was issued "an Exemplification of the enrollment of this Decree of the High Court of Chancery between Henry Jerningham and the customary tenants of his Manor." This was made at the request of William Osborne and Edmund Fletcher, and other tenants of the Manor, and it is signed by John Seaman, Doctor of Civil Law (then living in the house, since 1680 called the Court House, which he had recently acquired, as we have seen, from Thomas Gardner), and examined by Mathew Carew and John Home, Clerks. (Cf. *The Customs of the Manor, &c.*, by Thomas Croome, Stroud, N.D. p. 58).

Thus, then, the whole of the Customs of this Manor were explained, settled and confirmed by a Decree of the Court of Chancery, and enrolled and exemplified under the Great Seal, and ultimately ratified (1624) by an Act of Parliament passed expressly for that purpose: and thus, some which were regarded as not unquestionable Customs, became retained as the real local laws and regulations, and forming the absolute settlement of the position of the lord to his tenants in this Manor, and establishing their titles to their estates therein upon fixed conditions.¹

If the position of the Elizabethan Copy-holder was independent and prosperous compared to that of his predecessors, that of his successors in the reign of the Stuarts was still more so.

It is perhaps significant of the expenses incurred, that we find Henry Jerningham selling Haresfield Manor in 1616 to Richard Beard.

1. A friend writes: 'This embodiment of the Customs of a Manor was of *very* rare occurrence. There is no other instance of it in this county.'

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DAYS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.—THE CLOTH TRADE— THE SIEGE OF GLOUCESTER.

Although Court-Rolls and Registers, Church-Wardens' accounts, and kindred documents are duly regarded as dry-as-dust, we may here and there derive from them lively and valuable touches suggestive of the habits and customs of our forefathers. That gruesome object the scaffold was still with them at Shepscombe, looked after with its perquisites by the family of Davies; but in 1620 it had passed into the custody of James Tayler and Margery Wastefield. These held 'Tithing-man's Acre' in fee-simple for the duty of keeping ladder and gallows in order and of placing the noose around necks of condemned felons. The previous year or two had been years of affliction for Painswick, and dilapidations were probably numerous. Even the Pillory and Ducking-stool were found to be out of repair, and were ordered to be put in good condition. It was also considered needful to build a new Stock-House, just without the North Gate of the Cemetery, and it faced East. This was finished in 1626, and removed in 1840.

We obtain glimpses also of minor misdemeanours. John Whiting is fined for donning a mask in the night-time to the grievous annoyance of his neighbours 'at their own doors.' Giles Arthur is fined for keeping greyhounds, and Thomas Dover (a name well-known at that date in Cotteswold) for keeping spaniels to the great injury of the Lord's pheasants and partridges. John Knight seems to have been a troublesome person who shot pigeons and tormented them with arrows. John Motley was fined for digging out moles on Kynemesbury Hill. Mrs King, at Ifold, who held by free-bench, was warned against further cutting of hedges at a place called 'The Styrtys,' and selling the same. It is

1. This interesting variety of 'Street' is the name of a field between Painswick House and Ifold, north-east of the Romano-British Villa. The 'Street' is no doubt the present road outside 'Sterts' field, which runs from Ifold to Holcombe Lane.

almost amusing to find the learned John Seaman, D.C.L., fined 6d. for default of Suit of Court.

The old market-hall which occupied the site of the present Gables, supported on 14-inch columns with Tuscan caps, measuring 5 ft. 3 ins. in height, now made way for dwelling-houses in Friday Street. In front of it was a public fountain. Two of its columns are still standing in site, embodied in the left-hand house of the two.

Lullingworth and Castle Hale belonged to Robert Rogers, whose brother, Charles Rogers, married Miss Elizabeth Seaman (of Court-House) in Painswick Church (July 30, 1629). Her father, Dr Seaman, had been buried in the Chancel six years before, on June 30, 1623; and her mother, Elizabeth (Norton) in August, 1625; while her eldest brother had married Anne in 1626. Seaman's Will (Cf. P.C.C., Oct. 7, 1622) had provided for the event rather quaintly: "If it happen my sonne Samuell to marry, that then hee and his wife shall have their habitation in my newe dwelling Mansion-House in Payneswicke, payinge reesonable for their diet for themselves and their company." Samuel, however, enjoyed but a brief married life. He died there in 1632, leaving a son by his wife, who presently married Mr John Trye of Hardwicke, who came to reside with her at Painswick.

The settlement by Act of Parliament of the 'Customs of the Manor,' confirmed in 1624, no doubt inspired the more industrious tenants, and made it possible for them to pull more hopefully through the serious distress in 1619. But for that period of severe depression, the cloth-trade had brought Painswick, like Camden and Northleach, to well-sustained prosperity. There were no less than 1,500 looms in the county of Gloucester, and wool was cheap; but the clothiers found themselves in rough waters owing to the unreasonable impositions laid upon cloth by the merchant-adventurers, and to the development of their trade in other lands. The latter declared that there was store of good cloth over-sea which was selling at a cheaper rate than the highly-rated cloth at home. The merchants, in fact, found

1. ANNA, uxor Johannis TRYE (generosus) et nuper uxor et relicta Samuelis Seaman (generosus) defuncti; tenet per liberum bancum suum per mortem dicti S.S. quamdam Domum, cotagia gardenum et sepâl: parcell: terræ pro Redditum p.a. viid. et 6 acras prat: et pastur: et unum clausum vocatur Paradise, le Courte orchard, &c., XXIs. XI½d. Anno. 8, Car. 1. (1632).

themselves being under-sold by foreigners, who exported the wool and raised the price. (Vol. 114, 32-34). (Cf. S.P. Domestic Series, James I., vol. 131 (55) 128 (49)).

The better-informed men here must also have apprehended other peculiar dangers which now threatened, not merely their trade, but the entire kingdom. The reign of James had not closed before Parliament had been outraged by that King having dared to tear out of the Books of Parliament the pages containing statements of the national duty of the English Parliament, and of its claim to freedom of speech.

Danger, indeed, threatened from two distinct sources : from the reckless aggressiveness used by the Crown towards the rights and liberties of the people (this making itself felt by arbitrary imprisonments and taxations); and, next, from the ever-intensifying bitterness against Roman Catholicism and those who in any way admitted, or betrayed, leanings favourable to it. We can only imagine the disgust of honourable minds at the subservience of the Laudian Clergy to the King, especially when the latter endeavoured to teach that Parliament depended for its very existence upon the King's favour. It became manifest that to the reign of James had succeeded a highly critical period in home affairs. The general prosperity of the country promised one thing, but the attitude of the Crown threatened quite another. Under the insane banner of 'Divine Right of Kings' misgovernment and tyranny menaced the most sacred institutions. People lost confidence both in home and foreign policy, and began to regard Buckingham and Charles as deliberate gamblers with national liberty and with the State-religion. Misfortune dogged their every move.

In 1634-5 Painswick must have become closely interested in the result of an action relating to its chief source of wealth. For in December, 1634, was sent in an Affidavit of Henry Ackenbach of London (Gent.) that "Thomas Webb, the elder, of Painswick, Co. Glos : on the 27 Nov. last Past, being at Blackwell Hall in the Cloth Market, offered for Sale two Stroudwater Reds, not having the mark of the Clothier woven in either of them, but, contrary to the Statute, between the Forvels ; and that Anthony Wither, his Majesty's Commissioner for Clothing, caused Laomedon Blisse

(charming combination of names!) to seize the same cloths as forfeited to his Majesty's use. Blisse having one of the said Cloths in his arms to carry away to the King's Storehouse, the said Thomas Webb violently took them away, saying to Wither in a railing manner, that he hoped the curses of the Poor would one day root him out, and that the marks on the said cloths stood where they should stand, and whereon he would have them stand, neither would he make it otherwise while he lived." (Cf. Domestic Papers, Charles I., 1634-5. Vols: CCLXI., fol. 38, 160 192, b. 220, b. 230. CCLXXVIII. f. 116).

Thomas Webb was associated in this case with Richard Field of Stroud (Pakenhill).

The case provides some rather interesting items of information relative to the local trade in cloth. When the witnesses, John Adams and others, were called for in examination, they refused to be examined or to give information. An attachment was therefore decreed against them. Later on (October, 1635), it would appear that certain witnesses against the defendant Webb "Mr Stephens, Mr Jones, and the Registrar of Gloucester, were ordered to be called to answer their indirect and unjust carriages at the expediting of the Commission in this cause, and Dr Rives was called upon to give in articles against them." Meanwhile, Webb and others had put in a petition to the Lords of the Treasury, fully stating the origin and progress of the manufacture of Red Cloth as carried on by them at Stroudwater, Co. Gloucester. They stated that their forefathers beyond memory of man used the trade of making red cloth, but had made only coarse cloths of a blood colour, having black Irish lists. Webb's people, however, about thirty years back (*i.e.*, 1605) began to make finer cloth, and to dress it far better; at the same time dyeing it with grained and bastard stammels. The defendant stated 'these stammell-cloths with scarlet and bastard scarlets, are found very good and merchantable: and we make of the same near three thousand every year: and we hope, if allowed to go on in our lawful calling, to revive the trade of making white cloth.' The petitioners conclude by expressing a hope that they have

1. In 1585 had been passed Acts regulating the breadths of White and Red Cloth. (Cf. John Smith. *Mem: of Wool*, pp. 81-2). The wages of labourers at this date were 14d. a week.

satisfied the Commissioners that their using 'mosing-mills' and dyeing stammels is for the general benefit. (Ap., 1635).

Webb was evidently the richest Clothier in Painswick. For in the Subsidy Roll for 1641, $\frac{11}{5}\frac{6}{2}$ (17, Car. I., Ap. 5), he is assessed at £1 8s. 8d. upon £5; or seven shillings more heavily than any customary tenant in the Manor. In the later subsidies (November 3) he is assessed at even more, £1 12s. od., and as we find a suspicious 'oneratur' against his name, it seems likely that he was suffering from especial attentions on the part of the Crown. (Cf. Appendix).

This case represents some of the lay-troubles of Painswick. We may turn to the case of the Vicar of Painswick for an example of the religious ones.

The Vicar at this time was Rev. William Acson. He had already been curate to the previous Vicar, Mr Yate, whose daughter, Joan, he had married in 1606. By her he had a son, Joseph Acson, who is found as a customary tenant of the Manor, holding 'Cuphouse' at Shepscombe, in 1636, with a farendel of land. At this time, however, Mr Acson had married a second wife, Anne, relict of William Loveday, a very well-to-do personage, paying no less than £1 16s. 9d. for Chief-rent for her various properties. Whatever may have been the feelings toward the pastor whom 'the chiefest and discreetest of the Parishioners' had elected for their spiritual guidance in 1622, times had changed, and in 1639-40 he found himself regarded with open hostility by some of them, and they laid informations against him on account of his preaching. In consequence we find his case referred to the Bishop of Gloucester for hearing. On Feb. 20, 1640, the House of Commons resolved that the Rev. William Acson was unfit to hold any ecclesiastical Benefice, and declared him to be a 'Malignant.' This serious resolution was ratified on May 20, and he was ejected from his Painswick living. It is evident he favoured the Royalist Lord of the Manor: Sir Ralph Dutton.

At this period, public discontent had culminated to a great crisis. Grievances reached London from the country districts every day and by the score. Laud and Strafford were ordered to be impeached. The Parliament boldly passed a statute

peremptorily condemning the arbitrary Subsidies, which had been levied without its consent, by the Crown.

Painswick had just been taxed for such Subsidies, and it is evident that her Vicar had approved of them, albeit he himself suffered by them, for his name appears in them all, and his name would not be there had he protested. As, however, he had married a wealthy widow in Mrs Loveday, it is not probable that the Subsidies troubled him seriously. But it may be possible to find solid reason for Mr Acson's conduct.

In 1636 Sir Henry Jerningham and his lady, Eleanor, embarrassed by losses in Norfolk, and a debt of £1,400 upon their estate at Painswick, agreed by an Indenture (Aug. 1, a. 12, Car. I.) between themselves and their neighbour, Sir Ralph Dutton, of Standish,¹ that the latter should have assigned to him their Manor and Lodge of Painswick with all its rights and belongings to farm for a term of years, paying 20s. yearly to the King or his heir.²

Sir Ralph Dutton, Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and Knighted at Woodstock in 1624,³ was Lord of the adjoining Manor of Standish, which his father had purchased from Sir Henry Winston⁴ (1613) in the previous reign. On July 22, 1625, he became Deputy-Lieutenant for the County of Gloucester. In 1630 he had been appointed Sheriff for the County. As events were to prove, he developed into an ardent adherent of King Charles, and a despiser of the Parliament, against which he presently drew his sword. From such a Manor-Lord at the Lodge,

1. "Shall be delivered unto him, the said Sir Ralph Dutton, his executors, administrators and assigns, all the Lodge, or Mannor-House of Painswick aforesaid, whole, safe, uncanceled, and undefaced, at or before the feast of Easter now next coming."

2. "The land and tenement of the said Sir Henry Jerningham, Bart : in his said Majesty's hand taken and seized by virtue of his said Majesty's writ of extent upon a judgment had and obtained by the said Sir Ralph Dutton against him in Easter terme in the 10th year of his said Majesty's reign," *i.e.* 1636.

3. Marriage settlement between Sir Ralph Dutton and Mary Duncombe is dated 20 May, 1624. The Manors of Standish and Hardwicke became settled by it on Mary, Lady Dutton as Dower, to be of £400 a year, net value, with fine attached. (Cf. Calendar of Sherborne Muniments by Edward, Lord Sherborne, 1900).

4. Sir Henry Winston's Coat of Arms and Crest are to be seen inserted in the Chimney Gable on the east side of Castle Hale. They are : Per pale, gules and azure, a lion rampant, argent, supporting between the paws a tree eradicated, vert. (Cf. Papworth, p. 90, col. 2).

(for he describes himself and is described, as of 'the Lodge, Painswick') it is only too probable that the Vicar took his colour, much (as it resulted), to his own undoing. Dutton was indeed a passionate Royalist.

Mr Acson having been ejected, Mr Thomas Wild was instituted, probably through Sir Ralph's influence. For, as we shall see, Mr Wild himself was ejected later on as a 'Malignant' Loyalist, by a local Committee of Puritans, whose own man, George Dorwood, of Newent, became thrust in in his stead. But it will be well for a moment to glance at some few others of the leading inhabitants of Painswick.

Castle Hale still remained in the possession of Mr Robert Rogers, but the neighbouring Mansion on part of the site of the ancient Court-House had again changed masters. We saw that Samuel Seaman had died in 1632, and that his widow re-married in 1635 John Trye, Esq., of Hardwicke. This is the personage we now see in the lists of the various Subsidies contributing on behalf of his wife, the owner of the House in the Court-Orchard, a close at 'Paradise,' and the other tenements of the late Dr Seaman. Mr Trye, having witnessed remarkable events here, is found still residing as a copy-holder at Painswick in 1653, when he appears among the contributors to a subscription for the Relief of Marlborough in Wilts, which had been almost destroyed by a conflagration.¹ It is probable, therefore, that Mr and Mrs Trye were occupying their house (later, called Court-House), when King Charles and his army visited Painswick. But we hear nothing of Richard Seaman, Mrs Trye's son by her former husband. Nor does his name appear on any Painswick document. Yet we know that he was living, for he married Katherine, daughter of Martin Wright, Esq., of Oxford (probably in 1645-7), and he was living at Panfield Priory, near Braintree, in Essex. As he owned two far-apart places he may have left Painswick to his mother and Mr Trye for her life; and his reason for doing so may have been connected with a tragedy which had befallen his uncle, Edward Seaman, of the Sheephouse, at Painswick, in 1636, who had been hanged for murder.² The latter is described as having

1. Hist: of Church of St Mary, Painswick, p. 57. May 2.

2. Cf. The History of the Church of St Mary, p. 53.



COURT-HOUSE (West Face)

been tried at the Sessions-House of the Old Bailey and consigned to Gaol, Feb. 19, 9, Car. I., so that the crime must have taken place in 1634 'per ipsum commissum et perpetratum.' (Cf. *Inquisitio Indentata*, July 1, 10, Charles I). The name of the victim does not appear.¹

Richard Seaman had an only daughter, who married Jan. 5, 1664, one John West, of Oxford. He himself was then dead.² The Tryes, however, had continued residing at Painswick.

Having settled who, at the date of the King's visit to Painswick, lived at the Manor Lodge, namely Sir Ralph Dutton (Lord of the Manor *pro. tem.*), and who resided at Court-House, namely Mr and Mrs John Trye, copyholders, let us revert to the stirring Forties and the outbreak of the Civil War. King Charles, although aware of the reluctance entertained by the more prudent of his adherents to commence the fatal struggle, determined to raise his standard at Nottingham on August 23rd, 1642.³ It is of special interest, therefore, to Painswick, that the Lord of the Manor, with not a few Painswick and Standish men under his command, appeared in that city with a regiment of 800 men at arms, 'with flying colours.' Dutton's force constituted the second cavalry regiment raised in the King's behalf.⁴ For it he drew up a special form of daily prayers, and presumably was employing it throughout the following year.

The Parliament had been already apprised of Sir Ralph Dutton's doings, and had lately endeavoured almost successfully to arrest him while raising his men in Gloucestershire.

"Master Hill, the Under-Sheriff of Gloucester,⁵ with ten more

1. Another uncle, William Seaman, lived at Wythington, and by his wife, Mary —, had a daughter, Edith, born Jan. 1, 1633.

2. Consequently, he never enjoyed Painswick. His uncle William was probably father of Giles Seaman, whom we shall meet with.

3. On May 2, 1642, Sir Ralph Dutton demised Standish Manor with its Park of 800 acres to Sir Gerrard Fleetwood, of Crawley, Kt., and John Dutton, of Sherborne, for his only daughter, Elizabeth.

4. Journal of "The Siege of Bristol" written by an eye-witness. (*Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, Edit: Warburton, 1849, p. 247).

Next Wednesday morning, July 26, the time designed for the general assault, etc. . . . Col. Sir Ralph Dutton that day leading on the pikes, being gotten with one in his hand into the ditch, charged upon the foot with it. In the meantime his pikes being fallen back from the foot, he went out to bring them on again, when finding My Lord Grandison, who behaved himself most gallantly all that day, persuading with them to return, he brought them after him.

5. Thomas Stephens was Sheriff, 1643.

set upon Sir Ralph Dutton with ten Cavaliers, who were raising men against the Parliament in that County, forced Sir Ralph to swimme the River of Severne, and took two of the Cavaliers and brought them this 22nd of August (1642) to the Parliament; who had the thanks from the Parliament, recompence for their fidelitie and paines, and incouragement to send up all malignants, Cavalliers and Army men, if they appear in that County; and that all Counties should do the like." (Tract. H. Blunden 1642, London). The fact being that on the 12th of the month, the House had been informed "that Sir Ralph Dutton beats up a drum in Gloucestershire and Hereford for soldiers, orders that he shall be apprehended and brought before the House as a Delinquent, and Lords-Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants,¹ and all his Majesty's Officers shall be assisting to apprehend him." (Cf. Journal of the House of Lords). So that Sir Ralph, acting energetically for his King, was promptly singled out to be apprehended by any of the Crown Officers who chanced to discover and overpower him.

Though sorely imperilled in the home counties, the King's cause now became brightened owing to a severe blow dealt to the Parliament by the taking of Bristol, in those days regarded as the second city in England. On July 26, 1643, it capitulated to Prince Rupert, with whom was Colonel Sir Ralph Dutton. At the same time, Exeter and Barnstaple surrendered to Prince Maurice. Cirencester had fallen in the previous February. "Gloucester alone interrupted the communications between the Royal forces in Bristol and those in the North; and, at the opening of August, Charles moved against that city in the hope of a speedy surrender." (J. R. Green, *Hist. Eng. People*, vol. II. c. IX.)

The above facts are the more interesting, as we find Prince Rupert presently lodged at Prinknash Park, adjoining Dutton's Manor of Painswick, whither the King himself was moving, and commanding the adjoining Portway.

Having slept at Berkeley Castle on August 7, Charles dined at Tetbury on the 8th; thence he passed immediately to Cirencester, where the Chester-Master family entertained him, and

1. Twenty-five Deputy-Lieutenants were nominated for the County in August, 1642. Those for the City of Gloucester included George Bridgeman of Prinknash, Sylvanus Wood, William Capel, and William Knighton. But many refused to serve.

in whose mansion he passed the night together with his two sons and the suite.

"Upon Wednesday night (August 9, 1643), his Majesty quartered five miles short of Gloucester, and the Prince (Rupert) at Princenage three miles off Gloucester." (Cf. A Journal of the Siege of Gloucester, p. 280). Prinknash was then the home of George Bridgeman, a Deputy-Lieutenant of the County. In the woodland immediately above it, and beside the road to Buckholt is to be seen a small picket-entrenchment probably dating from rather later days of the same Civil War, and perhaps set there by Massey for commanding the neighbourhood. It is capable of holding 100 men, and has its long side on the east over-browning the vale of Cranham. An unsigned military order discovered some years back at Upton St Leonards brings the time vividly to mind. It is dated from Prinknash, ten days after the King's visit to his friend Dutton's Manor, and while he was at Matson House. It was intended no doubt to be issued by Prince Rupert.

"By virtue of the authority and power given to me from our Souveraign Lord Kinge Charles under the great seale of England, to you all under his Majy of all his Majesty's forces whatsoever, I doe hereby straitly charge and command you, and (each) of you whom it may or shall concern, that immediately after sight or knowledge hereof you doe noe manner of violence, injury, harme or detriment by unlawful plunderinge to Robert Tayloe of Upton S. Leonard in the County of the City of Gloucestershire (*sic*) . . . directly or indirectly by your selves or others as you will answer the contrary at your utmost perill, given at Prinknedge under my hand and seale att armes this 20th of August 1643."

"To all commanders, officers, and soldiers whatsoever of or any way belonging to his majesty's army."

The King while spending some hours at Painswick appears to have issued a similar order (found sixty years ago at Tewkesbury, and now in possession of W. H. Herbert, Esq.,

1. 'Via sapientis est meditatio Immortalis. To the memory of Robert Tayloe who deceased the 2nd day of September, 1656, aged 70 years.' In Upton Churchyard.

at Paradise House, Painswick.) It is dated August 10, 1643, "From our Court at Payneswicke." It may also be mentioned that besides being the mansion of a powerful and loyal friend, the Manor Lodge of Painswick, then a quadrangular 'Court-yard' house, was by far the largest in the Manor, and such it remained until 1831.

Part of the King's forces, numbering many thousands, probably encamped upon Painswick Hill and the Common, the town of Gloucester coming into full view far below them in the vale of Severn. Their commanding officers were quartered in the town, including we surmise that of the recently-instituted Vicar, Mr Wilde. This would be sufficient, taken with other things, to account for some of the persecution which presently ensued to that unfortunate man. For, having been put into the Living to supply the place of Mr Acson, we find him in the following December violently turned out of his Vicarage, wife, bairns, and all, into the winter snow.'

Having spent but a night at Painswick, the King and Princes rode down the Hill to Matson House, where the Selwyns received them: and there, fatefully to his cause, Charles remained until September 5, when the City was relieved by Essex. Hopeful of meeting Essex on favourable battle-ground, he returned to Painswick (where he stayed the night) and marched *via* Cobberley to Sudeley Castle. He believed himself about to deal a deadly blow at the rebel General.

"When we drew off [from Gloucester] it proved to be most miserable tempestuous rainy weather, that few or none could take little or no rest on the hills where they were; and the [un]ceasing winds next morning dried up our thorough-wet clothes we lay pickled in all night as a convenient washing of us as we came out of the Trenches." (*i.e.*, those of the ancient Camp).

That Sir Ralph Dutton realised the dangerous course he had set himself to run goes without examining. Prince Rupert presently made him Adjutant to the Governor of Oxford. The settlement of Standish Manor upon his daughter, just old enough at this period to marry, was a prudent step. It was carried through as a provision for Elizabeth Dutton, and really devised to his relative,

1. Walker. *Sufferiegs of the Clergy*, p. 398.

John Dutton of Sherborne (also a Royalist) and another, in Trust, in order that these should pay her £50 p.a. until her marriage, when it was to be increased to £200. It was a measure which made it possible later on after the sequestration of Standish, and Sir Ralph Dutton's decease in 1646, to compound with the Treasury and secure the return of this Manor to the family, in behalf of Sir Ralph's children. (Cf. Sherborne Muniments, by Edward, Lord Sherborne, p. 21). Painswick returned to the Jerninghams.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CIVIL WAR, RESTORATION, AND ONWARD.

Although in the early days of the outbreak, Sir Ralph Dutton proved too nimble for his assailants, they contrived later on to be amply revenged for his evasion. Captain Backhouse, a prominent and (as we should now say) very slim Parliamentary, under the direction of Massey at Gloucester, set out thence, probably to Holcombe, as well as to Standish, and pillaged Sir Ralph's barns, carrying their contents back with him to Gloucester. Some of the Standish and Painswick tenants would seem to have been captured also, for Christopher Beavan and John Davis (junior), Yeomen, of Painswick, with William and James Willis, of Standish, appear in the Gloucester Sessions Books for the Autumn of 1642 as being placed under recognisances in £20 for their good behaviour before Dennis Wise, Esq., J.P., and their names re-appear from time to time until after Easter, 1643.

"As for Provisions and Ammunition, I have not been in the Granary since the siege, but to deal truly with you I verily believe the Garrison is filled for 6 moneths; for the Corne of Master Guise, Master Dobbs, Sir Henry Spillar, Sir Ralph Dutton, and others, whom we call 'Malignants' was brought in, indeed by myself." Feb. 5, 1643-4. (Letter of Backhouse).

This should be dated 1644, as the blockade had not commenced before that time. The temptation to plunder the Standish and Holcombe fields must have been considerable. They were to be defended only by a few farm hands.

By the commencement of the year 1644,¹ the Royalists had distributed certain small garrisons in a remote circle about Gloucester. The more important of these were at Newnham, Lydney, Dymock and Newent, Highleadon, Tainton, Tewkesbury, Sudeley, Salperton, Beverstone and Berkeley. This was effected with a view to starving the city into surrender by cutting

1. Cf. Various writings by Francis A. Hyett, including *Trans: Bristol & Glos: Arch: Soc: Vol. xvi., xviii. 'Gloucester:'* 1906. John Bellows. All valuable references to the subject.

off supplies. On the other side, the Parliamentarians despatched from Gloucester similar small garrisons to occupy where they could do so. These located themselves at Frampton, Frowcester, Horsley, Lippiatt: and at Prestbury, Boddington, Westbury, Arlingham, and Essington.

Such being the distribution of the opposing forces, it is not to be wondered that skirmishing up and down hill, ensued with varying fortune. Hill and vale watched, one the other. So eager were certain of the Royalist commanders to secure the glory of the surrender of Gloucester, to themselves in particular, that we find them entering blindly into an intrigue (as they fancied) with Backhouse to induce that Attorney-Captain to deliver into their hands the city which he was defending together with Massey, its commander. Backhouse played very skilfully with both Colonel Stanford and Sir William Vavasour, and kept them wooing and fooling in vain. In February and March, 1644,¹ Painswick became the point of two sanguinary skirmishes.

Backhouse, writing Feb. 5, states: "Upon receipt of these letters (*i.e.*, from Master Stanford and Sir William Vavasour) the next news we heard was that Colonels Mynne and St Leger with the Irish forces march't to Paynswicke for subsistence, but indeed to plunder the Country; to prevent which, our Governor (Massey) drew out a party of Horse and Foot, where there was a skirmish and some losse on both sides." According to *Bibl: Gloucestrensis* (p. 76) there was a force of two thousand Royalists in Painswick at this time.

Sir William Vavasour in a letter to Backhouse (Feb. 1) had stated "My men are faine to march into the country for subsistence." The Irish force had been brought by Colonel Mynne to reinforce the King.

It is interesting at this point to read a Royalist account of this skirmish. It is taken from *Mercurius Aulicus*, and bears date Feb. 8 (Thursday). "And to bring in Peace and Truth, their countryman, Master Massey, passed out of Gloucester on Monday morning last, to Painswick (three or foure miles thence), where Colonel Mynne was quartered, but suddenly retreated. In the

1. That is, six months subsequently to the King's visits; and not previous to them as stated, owing to an oversight, in the *Hist: of St Mary's Church, Painswick*.

afternoone hee came againe with a stronger party, whereupon the Colonell drew out part of his forces, beat up Massey's ambushes, killed 80 of his men, tooke betwixt 20 and 30 prisoners, whereof two Lieutenants, without the losse of any one man, besides 150 very good fire-armes."

While it is clear that Backhouse tactfully conceals what must have been a nasty worsting for his side under the vague "losse on both sides," it is possible that the neat round numbers mentioned above cover some exaggeration. Colonel Mynne was left, at any rate, in full possession of Painswick.

Corbet states further that a force of Massey's "was driven to a sudden and confused retreat, and in disorder ran down the steep, through a rough and narrow lane, and recovered a house at the foot of the hill, where a party had been left to make good the retreat (*i.e.*, to Gloucester). The enemy durst not pursue; by which means many parts of the county were preserved from spoil, and next day the enemy retreated, laden with plunder." (*Bibliotheca Glouc.*, vol. II., pp. 74-5).

Having obtained what they wanted, *i.e.*, subsistence and spoils, the enemy (*i.e.*, the Royalist Painswick garrison), now retreated or were called off elsewhere. This, perhaps, bears the construction that they left Painswick. For, in the following month we find Painswick occupied after all by Massey's Parliamentary garrison.

It should be mentioned that Sir William Vavasour (now become Colonel-General of the King's forces in Gloucestershire), had his headquarters at Tewkesbury. Hearing that Massey had gotten possession of Painswick in March, 1644, Corbet writes: "Sir William Vavasour having obtained two Culverins from Oxford, with proportion of powder, advanced with a strong brigade towards Painswick, with unusual preparation and expectation. Their march afflicted the County and indangered our out-garrisons. He entered Painswicke with as gallant Horse and Foote as the King's army did yield." The next words are of particular importance. "Here (our) Governour had placed a guard in a house near the Church,¹ into which the Church also was

1. This can scarcely have been the Stock-house at the North gate of the Churchyard, which was taken down in 1840. It may well have been the Court-House.

taken in by a breastwork of earth. The intention of the guard was to command contribution and keepe off a plundering party ; and Order was given to the Lieutenant which commanded, to maintaine it (Painswick) against a lesser party ; but, if the maine body and Artillery advanced upon them, to relinquish it and retreate down the Hill to Bruckthorp (where the Governour (Massey) had set a guard to prevent the enemies falling downe into the bottome) for which purpose they were assisted with a troop of horse, to make good such a retreate if need were. But the Lieutenant, more confident of the place, and not understanding the strength of the (opponents') army, and not willing to draw off before the last minute, was inforced by the enemy to engage himself, and many willing people of the neighbourhood in that weak hold ; and upon the first onset deserted the house being the stronger part, and betook himselfe to the Church ; which, wanting flankers the enemy had quickly gained by firing the doores and casting in hand-granadoes, some few were slaine in defending the place, and the rest taken prisoners. We lost three inferior officers, seaven and thirty common soldiers, and many countrymen (Painswick men) ; and at that season the Governour had commanded to Stroud another guard of fifty musketers to support and strengthen the place in its own defence, but ammunition was their only cry. . . . They wasted the hill countries, while we secured the vale."

Though Sir William Vavasour had won the place, he still found houses there that refused to yield. For he wrote to Lord Percy, General of Ordnance, stating that he had taken Painswick, "though the Rebels have (*i.e.*, retain) possession of many Houses," and beseeching his Lordship to send him more common bullets. (Cf. Harleian MS., 4, 713, fol. 121).

On March 29 (1644) Sir Edward Nicholas wrote to the Earl of Forth, General of his Majesty's forces: "Sir William Vavasour has taken Painswick with small loss, and he took above 200 soldiers prisoners, besides many slain and the arms of divers that ran away." (Oxon).

The Parish registers for 1628-1653 having disappeared, we cannot tell precisely who among the Painswick folk were slain. The names of many of them would be familiar to us, and must

have included several of those given in the Subsidy Rolls for 1641-2. It is to be inferred that Vavasour afterwards captured the remaining houses in the town. Mr Trye, of the Court-House, was certainly not slain; -for besides his name occurring in documents referred to, and dating nine years later, he died, and was buried at Hardwicke, 1680.

No remains have been identified with those of the temporary 'breastworks' mentioned above: but in 1722, or eighty years afterwards, 'two little ridges lying near the House,' in Court-Orchard, are mentioned, which may possibly have been connected with them, but more probably with foundations of ancient buildings. The present trees leading from the House to the Church belong to the latter date,¹ and the ground generally on this north side the House has a tendency to cumber the ground-floor rooms.²

It is clear, then, that Painswick was by no means heart-whole for the King. The Rev. Mr Wild, the Vicar, appears to have been captured by Massey's men and kept for five months at Gloucester. He was in Painswick again in this year, and was proceeded against by many of his puritanical parishioners as a 'malignant.' As the Rev. Acson had been turned out of his living on the ground of 'malignancy,' it may be asked, how came it that his successor, Wild, was found to be of the same persuasion? This difficulty is explained for us by a document in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian Library. (Cf. B. 323, 518, fol. 203, b. 202, 204, 205).

"The Puritan Party" collected a sum of money and purchased the patronage (from Sir Henry Winston) in ye names of five Trustees, who were Prin, Mackworth, Ven, Ford and Cradock; but, in the bargain those trustees were obliged on ye next avoydance to present Wild, and therefore they granted the next avoydance to Bud and Heydon who were friends of Wild, and he

1. Perhaps the coronation of George I.

2. Possibly the exuberant growth of nettles annually lower down in the Court-Orchard may be related to the said earthworks: but it is more probable these have to do with far more ancient foundations: *i.e.*, those of the building of Norman and early English days which have transmitted to us the name of Castle Hale.

3. Circa 1614.



COMPOUND TOMB

15TH, 16TH, 17TH CENTURY, ST PETER'S CHAPEL, PAINSWICK CHURCH

was accordingly presented by them . . . Wild had never any right to ye Patronage, but was always poor and much in debt : and yet Stock set up a counterfeit grant from Wild to Tainton." (Fol. 204).

At any rate, Wild was summoned before a Committee and articles of accusation were preferred against him. His witnesses were of no avail, nor was he permitted to be heard : but his accusers proceeded without delay to sequester him. Rev. George Dorwood, their own man from Newent, with the help of a troop of Massey's horse (which was still at Painswick in December, 1644), put himself in possession of the Vicarage House,¹ and turned Mrs Wild and her children into the streets : "denying her the liberty so much as to boyl a skillett of milk for her crying and hunger-bitten children,² though she begged the favour on her knees. Whereupon they were constrained to take shelter in a Barn." (Cf. p. 55, Hist. of the Church of St Mary, Painswick, or Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy).

Mr Dorwood remained Vicar until 1686.³

During the raiding of Painswick Church the brasses and decorations⁴ of its old tombs suffered, especially those adorning the tomb of Sir William Kingston in the Chantry Chapel in the north aisle. This tomb, since these times become an incongruous sort of monster, was already in those days composite in character. For Sir William Kingston (1540), as Lord of the Manor, had appropriated the Chantry-Chapel, and his widow gave him therein a tomb perhaps brought from outside, and possibly that of one of the XV. c. Viscounts Lisle. Upon this altar-tomb a poor late Tudor canopy was fitted, and the arms and legend of Sir William Kingston, as well as his effigy (and brasses on the rear wall), were added to make his sepulchre worthy of a Knight of the Garter, and Constable of the Tower : "but ye iniquity of ye times suffered all ye brasses and inscriptions to be stolen away." (Ashmolean, MS. 1118).

1. Ludloes : now called 'The Verlands.'

2. One of these, Francis Wilde, petitioned for Relief, at the Restoration. (Cf. Cal. State Papers, 1661-2, p. 233).

3. His epitaph is in the Chancel of the Church of St Mary.

4. The crosses of all villages suffered by orders of the Puritan Parliament, including the beautiful ones at Cheapside and Charing in London.

By good fortune these very brasses now come into possession of Mr John Theyer¹ of Cooper's Hill, Gloucester, whose wife claimed to be descended from Sir William Kingston.

John Theyer is found in company of Christopher Bevan of Painswick and John Davis of the same place, at a Court of Sessions of the Peace (September 22nd, 1642), and mulcted in £8 "to be of good behaviour."

During this period Sir Ralph Dutton, lord of the Manor, was promoted by Prince Rupert to be "Adjutant to the Governour of Oxford." Being also a member of the Council of War at Tewkesbury, he was possibly an intimate of Sir William Vavasour and Colonel Stanford and thus a redoubtable enemy of Massey and Backhouse, with whom things began to prosper.

On Sir Ralph, however, fortune frowned darker and darker after each reverse suffered by the King. His estates became sequestered as a malignant, and on Aug. 4, 1644, he was captured, with Grace and another, at Welshpool, and kept a prisoner until he was ransomed for £500. Cf. The Clarke Papers, Camden Society, 1894, vol. ii., 153. "The selling of Sir Ralph Dutton and other prisoners of note when they were taken, as Sir Richard Ducie, Baronet, Tracey, and many others." At the same time Sir Henry Jerningham, having suffered severely from the civil strife, in his Norfolk Estate at Costessy or Cossey, and having lost his only son, John Jerningham, died in 1646, leaving a grandson to succeed to the Baronetcy and to the reversion of Painswick. We have no illustrative documents as to who administered this Manor at this moment, though it is likely to have been John Lygon, Esq., J.P. In the same year, having endeavoured to escape from Scotland to France, Sir Ralph Dutton was driven by adverse winds to Burnt Island, where he is stated to have died. In consequence, his brother, John Dutton of Sherborne (who was likewise a delinquent, having been at Oxford during its siege), contrived to secure a release not only of his own estates, but that of the sequestered

1. John Theyer, of Cooper's Hill, Brockworth, married 1628, Susanna,—and named his son and heir, Charles, after his King, in 1650. He died in August, 1673, and is buried at Brockworth, tradition says, beneath the great yew tree.

estate of Standish with its 800 acres, in favour of William and Ralph, the sons of Sir Ralph. His petition is dated Aug. 16, 1646.

The grandson of Sir Henry Jerningham was destined to a long minority; during part, at least, if not all, of which, Painswick Manor was administered for him by Sir Henry Moore,¹ Baronet of Fawley Court, his uncle-maternal, who is styled 'Lord of the Manor of Painswick.' The latter's second sister was wife to the famous Sir Mathew Hale, of Alderley: Lord Chief Justice and Bell-ringer.

Meantime, the Trye family continued to reside at Court-House, and in 1653 (as before-mentioned) we find Mr John Trye of the Court-House, contributing 5s. to the subscription for the relief of Marlborough, which had been half-burned down. The most important persons in the Manor in the absence of the Lord, were doubtless Mr John Lygon, who acted as its Registrar from 1653-56 [in the latter year he died, and on August 10th was laid to rest in the Church] and William Rogers (Senior) the Reeve. It was probably upon Mr Lygon's decease that Sir Henry Moore, Baronet, began his administration for the heir of the Jerninghams, which he continued until 1666. In 1661 William Rogers, Esq., of Castle Hale, was acting Churchwarden with Charles Michell, and the present font, then made to replace the rude earlier one (now in Mr Spring's garden, in Hale Lane), bears their initials and the date. Mr George Dorwood continued in the Vicarage bringing up a family of sons and daughters with characteristic Puritan names: Josiah, Nehemiah, Hester and Rebecca. We have no further mention of the Seaman family here until 1674, when Giles Seaman and his wife are found living at Court-House.² This Giles we take to be a son of William Seaman of Withyngton (County Gloucester) who married in 1633, and thus a grandson of Dr John Seaman. John Trye died 1680. A brother of his, William Trye (called 'of

1. Sir Henry Moore may be the same with the Captain Sir Henry Moore, of the Earl of Cleveland's Regiment (Oct. 7, 1662). (Cf. Cal. S.P., Charles II).

2. His name is at the head of the Militia Subsidy for Edge tithing in 1684, together with that of William Rogers (Gent.)

PAINSWICK') died in Painswick in 1681.¹ He was patron in 1679 of the Living of Haresfield. (Buried at Hardwick). His will² was witnessed by Rev. George Dorwood, Vicar of Painswick.

As Castle Hale had been considerably enlarged in 1653, and the date 1657 occurs an incised shield inclosing initials, I. D. (? Josiah Dorwood) on the chimney-face of a gabled-house, once the 'George Inn,'³ next the Gables, and there are still other local evidences of activity in building at this period, it is fair to assume that Painswick continued to recover prosperity under the Commonwealth.

The Cloth-trade had been stimulated in the end by the late Civil War and the great increase of foreign trade. Presently, Charles II. further stimulated it by enacting (1679) that every Englishman should be buried in a woollen shroud, and this remained in force from 1678—1815. "John Rodway, mason, July 29. The other burialls this yeare after the 1 of August are in another booke appointed to be kept for buryinge in woollen. Mar: 1678." Painswick Register. The Act was read on the first Sunday after the feast of St Bartholomew, every year for seven years following. "No corps of any person to be buried in any stufte or thing other than what is made of sheep's wool only."

This was the prosperous period of the Lovedays, Packers, Pooles, Tocknells, and Webbs, and that of the rise of their assistants and kinsmen who became distinguished in still later days, and whose names became household words in Painswick throughout the remaining 150 years of the Jerningham Lordship of the Manor, and long after that, even till to-day. Another prominent tenant who had seen much Painswick History was Giles Field, who had built the Wick Street House⁴ in 1633. He was Constable of the Manor in 1636, and was living in his House in 1653.

1. The name of a daughter, Mrs Anne Trotman, occurs in the Subsidy (Militia) Roll of 1684.

2. At Gloucester.

3. Mentioned in 1684.

4. His initials and date are over the door: It is now the residence of Edward Warmington Reed, Esq.

Subjoined is a list of tythed persons in the Manor in 1674, as shown on a Return lent me by Mr F. A. Hyett, of Painswick House : there is also a portion of a list for 1680 :

EDGE TYTHING, 1674.

	£	s	d
Giles Seaman (gent.) for the Court	7	8	
orchard and that which belongeth to it, and for the (other			
yh) (other part) of his lands (<i>i.e.</i> , Abbots lands)	14	3	ob.
Widd: Seaman (? his mother)	4	5	ob.
Hen: Gardner	4		ob.
George Dorwood (Clerk)	4	6	
William Rogers (Gent.)	1	4	8
Edmund Webb	1	1	1
and for Will: Watts' land	1		6
Thomas Webb			8
and for the Mill and Land passed to him in Reversion	1	11	1 qr.
Widd: Webb	1	4	
John Poole	1	7	4
Thos. Clissold in right of his wife			8
John Gardner of Great Horse Poole			3
John Hill, Gent.	14	4	
Henry (S)tamage	3	1	
John Gyde	18	5	
William Pitt for great quarr	1	0	
Edward Tunley			3

The whole rent for this year comes to £80 1s. 10d. qr.
(127 tythed people).

1674. SHEPSCOMB TYTHING, with the following names and sums:

s	d		s	d	
2	0	Roland Wood, Gent. [Ebbworth]	13	5 ob.	George Phillips
1	0	Mr Nathaniel Ridler	17	1 ob.	Thos. Loveday, Sen :
10	0	John Gardner	8	8 ob.	Do. Jun :
11		Giles Gardner	3		John Stephens
5		Thomas Osborne (Mason)	4		Dan Hoskins
8		John Mason (Milwright)	6		Edward Okey for his wife land
6		Widd: Poole	10		Edward Pilewell
1	5	Widd: Hinton		1 ob.	John Cudd
1		John Wheeler		1 ob.	Samuel Cudd

s	d		s	d	
4		Will: Millard	4		Anthony Cumpier
2		John do.	1	11	Hannah Loveday, Widd.
3		Giles do.	4		John Gibbins, Junior
2		Widd: Rodway	13	11	John Cooke
2		John do.	15	7 ob.	Hen: and Thos: Gardner
1		James Turner	10	1	Joseph Robins of London
1		John Turner, Smith	12	11	Tho: Randle
1		Jeffrey Sadler	9		John Osborne
8		Robert Wotten (? Wathen)	2		Walt: Humphreys
8		Lawrence Hathewell	4		Francis West
12	11 ob.	Will. Osborne	6		Giles Wheeler
3	3	John do.	6		John Estcourt (Gent.)
	11 ob.	Widd: Gardner	4		Will: Dowell
17	2	Edmund Clements			

(Ob = Obolus = $\frac{1}{2}$ d.)

FREEHOLDERS in Stroud-End that pay rent to the Lord of the Manor of
Painswick:

	s	d
Rich. Webb	1	0
Henry Townsend	4	0
Rich: Bliss	1	8
The heires of Clissold's house	1	8
Widd: Watken?	2	
Sam: Knowles for his water tyt(he)	4	
James Ellis	1	0

1674. SPONDBE(D) TYTHING. (74 persons).

	£	s	d
Hen: Beard (Gent.)	1	14	2
John Rodway	1	11	
Robert Davis	4	1	
Giles and Peter Watkins	1	0	11
Giles Watkins, Jun.			
John Mason (bodys maker)		1	0
Walter Tocknell (Gent.)	1	0	8
Widd: Lewes	2	3	3
Rich. Gardner	1	11	9
Stephen Gardner	1	3	2
John Loveday		5	0
Rich: Gibbins	11	2	
&c., &c.			
John Bridgman, Esquire			11

1674. STROUD-END TYTHING.

(John Poole, Reeve).

£	s	d			£	s	d
1	4	4	John Webb	Giles Ffeild (Field) ...	12	5	
2	19	7	Widd: Webb	Mary Turker ...	5	2	
1	9	5	Widd: Ffletcher	Will: Cooke Tylor ...		4	
	12	9 ob.	Dan Niblett	John do. do. ...		2	
1	17	3	John Mayo	Hannah Loveday, Wid:		2	
	1		And for John Hamons	Rich: Blakney ...		ob.	
1	1	1¾	Thos. Clissold	Will: Ffriar ...		2	
1	1	1¾	Samuel Webb	Thos: Bliss (de Browns- green) ...	13	10	
1	12	3 ob.	Sarah Gardner, Widd:	Henry Winchcombe ...	8	0	
	1	6	Edward Gardner	Edward Okey ...	14	6	
	12	0	Thos. West	Will: Barnes ...	1	2	4
	13	10	Widd: Pawlyn	Widd: do. ...		1	ob
	4	2	John Pawlyn	Dan: Hoskyns ...		2	
	11	6	Robert Cooke	Bartholomew Edwards ...		8	
	12	5	John Niblett	Timothy Devenett ...	1	0	
	12	7	Walter Merrett	Thos: Clissold of Vatch Mill ...	5	4	
	12	2 ob.	Thos. Wynn	Widd: Greening ...	10	ob.	
1	3	0	Thos: Bliss (de Well)	Henry Rodway ...		3	
	1		Joseph Leech	Sarah Manning ...		1	
	18	11	Thos: Taylor	Thos: Loveday, Sen: ...		4	
1	12	6 ob.	Will: Webb (de London)	" " Jun: ...		1	
	1	0	Lawrence Wynn	Thos: Bisley ...	2	5	
	1		Widd: Wynn	Robert Jenner ...	2	0	
	½		James Close	Henry Gardner ...		2	
	4		William Watkins	Thomas Merrett ...		½	

EDGE TYTHING, 1680.

" Thomas Gardner, Reeve of ye Manor of Painswick in the year 1680"
(on outside).

	£	s	d
Mr William Rogers...	1	4	8
Giles Seaman (Gent.) and his mother ...	1	1	11¼
George Dorwood (Clerk) ...		4	2
Mr Edmund Webb ...	1	2	7
Hen: Stamage ...		3	1
Will: Loveday ...	1	11	1
Widd: Webbe ...		1	4

	£	s	d
Will: Loveday ¹ for his wife's house			
Dan: Clarke	1	12	
Will: Little	4	10	
John King (Carpenter)			2
Dan Taylor			4
Thos: Clissold (Chandler)... ..	1	0	

(130 tythed people).

1. He was a Quaker.



HOLCOMBE, NEAR EDGE, PAINSWICK



MR WATHEN'S HOUSE, WICK ST., PAINSWICK

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DAYS OF CHARLES II., JAMES II., AND WILLIAM III.

Sir Henry Jerningham,¹ Baronet, who lived at Painswick Lodge at that period, had married Mary, daughter of Benedict Hall, Esq. He died in 1680, and was succeeded by his son, Sir Francis, who was destined to retain his lordship of the Manor for nearly fifty years, that is to say, until the days of George II. Our sources for information regarding the Manor History at this time are at present limited to but a few documents. Some of the more interesting items are those contained in fragments of the Books² of the Constables of the Manor, such as the following :—

“1681. For work done to the Clock and Chimes to this second day of Sept., £5 and 5s. Samuel Webb and Giles Seaman, Churchwardens.” [The Church Chest dates from 1685]. In 1684, the Rev. George Dorwood died and was buried in the Chancel of Painswick Church. Two years later, William Rogers,³ Esq., J.P. (jun.), gave a treble bell to the peal, perhaps in memory of his late wife. His father, William Rogers, had died in 1674. These were serious times.⁴ 16 Jan., 1685. “Paid in expenses to Henry Woods, for keeping Thomas Smith a night, for speaking some dangerous words that the Duke of Albemarle was gone to

1. Grandson of 1st Baronet.

2. Cf. Painswick Magazine for 1888-9, where the late Mr Uriah Davis, of Court House, carefully published their remains.

3. In the Rawlinson MS. (B 323, fol. 203, b) occurs the following notice of a Hatchment, formerly in the Church, commemorating the deceased wife of William Rogers, Esq., of Castle Hale : “In a hatchment on ye South side of ye Chancel is a memorial for a Gentlewoman yt was buried elsewhere. The Coate is Rogers Impaling Hawley : vert, a saltire engrailed Argent. At ye bottome M[emoriae] S[acrum] Susannæ Conjugis Guillelmi Rogers de Castro Halense, quæ in puerperio obiit 18 May, 1682.”

4. 1685.—“A troublesome year, never to be forgot by them” (*i.e.*, the Constables). Charles II. died in February.

the Duke of Monmouth' with a great army, 2d." In the previous year (1684), by virtue of an Act of Parliament for raising by subsidy the King's Militia, a rate was agreed upon of one farthing per pound for the inhabitants of Painswick; also, a farthing for the repairing of the broken bridge at Chepstow, as well as another farthing for the Constable of the Parish, for moneys disbursed by him in the execution of his duties. Walter Merrett was the Constable in Chief, the other was John Cooke. "Item. I gave to William Miles, a lame seaman that had an order to be carried from one parish to another towards Westchester, 4d., and for a horse to carry him to Standish, and to a boy that went with him, 6d." "Item. Gave to six poor seamen that had a pass, 1s."

The receipts of John Cooke this year (1684) contain some interesting trifles. Giles Seaman, Gent., pays 6s. 3d., William Rogers, Gent., 11s. 3d., William Little, 1s. 6d. For the 'George Inn,' 9d. Michael Linnkinholt pays 4½d. Mrs Ann Trotman, widow, 3d. [She was, by birth, Anne Trye; widow of Rev. John Trotman (Died 1656) of Cam and Cranham, and Rector, formerly, of Newnton, County Wilts]. Ralph Adey, for the 'Crowne' Inn, 9d. John Little, for his horses, 1s. 6d. James Chew, 3d. Samuell King, for the 'Cross Keys,' 3d. Josiah and Nehemiah Dorwood, for Lords Mead,⁴ 1s. 6d. John Rodway, for Ifold Ground, 1s. Richard Gardner de Damsells, 9s. Giles Seaman, Gent., for Abbots Land (Farm),⁵ 2s. Geo. Fletcher, Gent. (for Ebbworth), or Mr Tocknell, 11s. 9¾d. Mr William Warneford, or Mr Hyett, 6d.

1. The natural son of King Charles II. We must recall here that the Rye-House Plot against the throne in favour of Monmouth occurred in 1683. In 1684, Arms were directed to be seized in all disaffected districts: pikes, pistols, rapiers, birding-pieces, swords and bandoliers, partizans, and 'musquetts.'

2. This Inn occupied the old house of two gables, now a private residence, at right angles to The Gables. It underwent serious alterations fifty years ago when cellars were formed. The left side, however, is in good order, and it contains an old 17th century fire-place and some pannelled plaster-work.

3. It is evident that there were three Inns then in Painswick; the 'Cross Keys' so named in honour of the Bishopric of Gloucester, and the Falcon.

4. Just below Castle Hale.

5. This is the old Farm-Land of Ebbworth; until the Dissolution, in the possession of St Peter's Abbey.



WELL FARM, PAINSWICK

		£	s.	d.
May 27.	Paid for the trimming of a coate ...	0	12	6
	„ two swords and one set of bandileres ...	1	0	7
	„ two buff Belts for swords and a Pike ...	0	16	0
	„ making the Coate ...	0	3	0
	Paid Ambrose Hewitt ...	0	6	8
	Paid for a Buff Coate ...	2	12	6
	A musketeer had ...	0	2	3 a day
	A pike-man ...	0	1	11
1686	Item paid six that watched the Stock-House ¹ all night when there were four rude fellows that threatened to fire ye towne, 1s. 6d.			
	Item. Gave the said prisoners bread and beer, 6d.			
	Item to John Turner for irons for ye whipping- post, 1s.			
1690	Item. Gave a Dutchman in distress, 6d.			
	„ „ blind soldier, 6d.			
	„ „ a poor, sick soldier, 1s.			
	„ „ to a poor woman with three children, 8d.			
1691	Paid for whipping, lodging, and bringing two persons before ye justice, 4s.			
	Paid to Stephen Page for making a ducking- stool, 9s.			
	Paid to Thomas Cook for ironwork for ye same, 1s. 2d.			
1692	To two Dutchmen with a pass, 2d.			
	Paid for whipping Edward Estcourt, 1s.			
1693, Sept. 16.	Gave two maimed soldiers, 8d.			
1698	To James Vandervield, ² a shipwrecked merchant, wife and three children, a pass, 6d.			
1699	To conveyance of a poor boy, sick of ye small- pox, to Upton, by a warden's order, 1s.			

1. Beside the Churchyard gate.

2. A Dutch-man.

In 1696, Mr William Rogers, of Castle Hale, alienated his estate to William Greenwood, Esq., of Brise Norton, Oxfordshire. The stables are mentioned with a Barne, as having been 'lately-built.' In 1701, however, the house had passed into possession of Thomas Browne, Esq. He owned with it six acres called White-wallend (now 'White-Hall') and Lullingworth.

As to the Court-House, after Giles Seaman died, in September, 1689, the Court of the Quarter Sessions seems to have made an order to lodge a Constable there. A County Record-Book, however, of that year states, "It is ordered by this Court that the Order formerly made in this Court that the Court-House of Payneswick should be made use of for a Constable, be set aside." (Query, as unsuitable?) At the Trinity Sessions, in the same year, an order made by the Justices, William Rogers, John Wagstaffe, John Hall, and William Hayward, was confirmed, "appointing and allotting the Court-House, at Painswick, to be a Conventicle, or Meeting-House, for Dissenters to exercise their religion, in pursuance of his majesty's late gracious declaration of indulgence." So the Court-House, or part of it, became the first Dissenting Chapel in Painswick.

Mr Seaman died at the Court-House, considerably in debt, and probably occupying but a portion of it. The will mentions a bedroom over the hall and its furniture, and the two cottages¹ at Castle Hale Style. His Sand Pitts in Ham were mortgaged to George Smith, as well as six acres there. The value of his chattels amounted to £55. In 1691, his widow (?), Elizabeth Seaman, was brought before the Justices (probably Petty Sessions, held at the Falcon Inn). The last mention of her occurs in 1698, after which date the name of Seaman vanishes from Painswick History.*

After the death of Rev. George Dorwood, the Vicarage was presented by Sir Robert Atkyns, Philip Shepherd, and Robert Wood, as Trustees for the Parish, to Rev. Samuel Rogers, who

1. Still there—1907.

2. That the sittings of the magistrates continued to be local seems probable from the following: 1714. Expenses when I took Ann Bailey before ye Justices, and paid for having her whipped, 4s. and 6d. For drink by ye Churchwardens' Order when the King (Geo. I.) was proclaimed at Painswick, £1.

held it until 1702. He was presented again March 3, 1686, by King James II., or, perhaps, his former presentation was ratified. "There is a large Glebe belonging to the Vicarage worth £60 yearly" — wrote Sir Robert Atkyns, — "the demeans of the Manner pay no tithes; the Vicar hath Bangrove-mead in lieu of them." Sir Robert, the Historian of Gloucestershire, knew Painswick particularly well,² and it is to be regretted he did not find space in his County History to tell us a good deal more than he has done about it. Perhaps he excluded History as much as possible in order to save space.

In the Furney MSS. (V. 3, fol. 150), we read :—

"Not far from the north side of the Towne ye famous Painswick Lodge, the pleasant seat of Sir Francis Jerningham : on her east side is Longridge : on her south side is Wickridge ; and on her west side standeth Huddy-Knowle Hill ;³ which are all of them well-replenished with woods of Beech."

"This Parish is reckoned to be ye best in ye county, standing on ye side of a Hill, encompassed with hills and woods on each side. Ye Lord is now Sir Francis Jerningham, whose ancient mansion is called 'Ye Lodge,' pleasantly seated on ye N.E. side of ye town, and was once compassed with a parke."⁴

"Here is a small market every Tuesday, and there is usually chosen a Mayor, which is only a 'titular' office, without ye least authority."

"On Pitchcombe [*i.e.*, Shepscombe] Green standeth a gallows which was first erected there by Sir Anthony Kingston, King's

1. "The estate of ye Lord of ye Manor is Tythe-free in lieu of which he gave a mead called Lord's mead to ye Vicar, worth £9 a year, and there is an estate of £20 p.a., and tythe-free, from ye Lord of ye Manor's Estates, and is called Lord's Meadows." Circa 1712. (Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian). Lord's Mead lies just below Castle Hale, beyond Knapp Lane.

2 He presented the living in 1685. May 27, 1684, John Cooke, Constable of Painswick, entered in his account-book 'Cost me in going to speak with Sir Robert Atkins, 10d.'

3. *i.e.*, The Edge.

4. The ancient Park had been cut up into fields already. That process had begun in the reign of James I. The present Painswick Park was created out of fields adjoining the Herings Farm estate by Mr C. Hyett, and his successors, including a field called 'Great Node;' (L. Nodus: a knot, or knob, or knap), for possession of which, Pan's Lodge, in the Frith, was exchanged.

Marshal, after ye Rebellion in ye west against ye King Edward ye 6." The stump of the post is said to have been visible in 1790.

Although Daniel Defoe, soon after the opening of the 18th century, indicates the decline of the Cloth-Trade, the prosperity of Stroud and Painswick continued. The wool distributed by the Clothiers among their employees was spun and woven in the cottages and dyed and finished on being returned to the mills by the water-side: so that the streets of these towns continually resounded with warp and shuttle, and the mills of the Webbs, Tocknells, and Lovedays, kept putting forth rich loads of Red, White and Blue Cloth. 'The beautifulest scarlets (he says) and other grand colours that are anywhere in England, perhaps in any part of the world.'

At the beginning of the 19th century there were nearly 30 cloth mills in the parish of Painswick.



TOCKNELLS, PAINSWICK

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS—NONCONFORMIST COMMUNITIES—
THE PARISH BELLS—ABRAHAM RUDHALL—WOAD—GEORGE
WHITEFIELD—THE FALCON—SPORTS—LIGHTNING STRIKES
THE CHURCH—DISTRESS IN PAINSWICK AND STROUD—
RIOTERS AT PAGANHILL—REPEAL OF CYDER TAX—GEORGE
III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE—SALE OF THE MANOR—THE
LODGE RESERVED—LADY BEDINGFIELD'S VISIT TO PAINSWICK IN 1819—FINIS.

Chief among benign influences handed on in Painswick from the XVII. century to the XVIII., besides a School for her children, must be reckoned that of the Society of Friends. The Doctrines of George Fox may have reached Painswick from Gloucester, or Nailsworth, or from Cirencester. Probably the religious dissensions prevalent here (as the previous chapters of this work have shown) during the Civil War and Commonwealth, facilitated their adoption. The actual date of their reception may have been in or before 1656, for the first burial in the Dell Cemetery¹ was that of 'Ales, wife of Walter Humphries, 22nd of first month, 1657,' while burials near the Meeting-House, in Withymead Lane, did not commence until more than a century later. The first of the latter entered in the book kept for the purpose by the Society of Friends (now at Gloucester, and access to which places the present writer still more in debt to the kindness of William Bellows and F. Reynolds), is that of 'Bridget, daughter of Joseph and Hannah Davis, 4th of 3rd month, 1770.' Nevertheless, occasional burials continued to take place at the Dell until 1819.

On examining the slabs yet visible at the latter secluded spot, adjoining the Dell Farm, upon four of them are to be seen the name of Loveday, and as this well-to-do, and very ancient Painswick

1. The stone style is inscribed M.M. 1712. In 1429 a field called Le Delle belonged here to John Green, 'juxta le Gracehill.'

family (A.D. 1280), then owned the mill and fields immediately below the Dell, it becomes probable that it was not only the mainstay of local Quakerism, but the donor of the ground. With the Lovedays were associated the Cudds, Hintons, Druitts, and Masons, and Samuel Wheeler. Since writing the above, a letter of the late Mr Joseph Davis (dated 21, ix., 1871) has been put into the Author's hands which confirms this conclusion, while it throws valuable light upon the History of 'the Friends' in Painswick.

"The Lovedays were Friends at the earliest period of the Society, and were owners of a large property in Painswick, and I have no doubt they gave the Meeting-House Ground, and also the Dell. I believe my grandfather's grandfather, Thomas Loveday (d. 1690), built the house in Vicarage Lane, where my uncle, Daniel Roberts, lived and died,' and that the Meeting-House ground was part of that property ; and within my own knowledge a considerable estate surrounding the Burial Ground at the Dell belonged to the Lovedays. There were in all at least a hundred burials there, and thirty-five at the Meeting-House. Marriages at Painswick commenced 1658, and are mentioned to have been (made) with the consent of Nailsworth May Meeting, and in the M.H. at Painswick. There were 22 up to 1776. I have heard my father say that he had heard that in his grandfather's time (who died in 1762), the Meeting-House on a First Day morning was quite full.'" It is now used by the community of 'Plymouth Brethren.'

1. This should be no other than Yew Tree House in Vicarage Lane, now the residence of Leonard Bicknell, Esq. In 1796 it is described in a Court Roll as occupied by Mr Daniel Roberts, and containing a garden and orchard of two acres. The date of the House is of the 17th century, and the yew trees in front of it may be nearly as old ; but the splendid specimen at the bottom of the garden may date from the death of Elizabeth. The complicated monogram above the porch is of c. 1790, and appears to include D. or Deborah Roberts as D.R. within E. LOVEDAY. Mr Edward Loveday was one of the Overseers of Painswick from 1778-1800. His heir was Daniel Roberts.

2. Joseph Davis died, January 16, 1872, aged 81. He was great-grandson to Mr Axtell Roberts, who married, 1712, Hannah, daughter of Thomas Loveday. He lived at The Elms, Cotham Hill, Bristol. Axtell Roberts was son of Daniel Roberts, of Chesham, Co. Bucks. The ownership of the Dell Cemetery became vested in the Hinton family, members of which were seized of it as '2 Lugg of Land inclosed by a wall,' in 1762, 1782, and 1816, when William Hinton surrendered it to the use of Joseph Davis, his heirs and assigns.

The Burials at the latter ground, beginning with Bridget Davies and Richard Stanley Davis, 1770-1779, for the most part have been Hintons, Merrells, and Padburys. The last of the latter family, Miss Lydia Padbury, died in 1886, aged 72 years. The house of the Padburys is that now occupied by Wm. Balfour Fergusson, M.D., and is called Hazelbury House. Among the last of the Friends living at Painswick were the late Mr Samuel Bowly (1884) who resided at Horsepools, a great cultivator of rare flowers, as well as a strenuous Temperance Reformer. Mr James Atkins, of Rose Cottage, a famous Botanist, will also be remembered.

But the last familiar face and figure of a Friend, not rarely to be seen here, even in 1900, was that of the late John Bellows,¹ whose broad-brimmed hat, and neat, collarless brown coat recalled early times. The first 'Friends' seem to have dressed much as the Puritans did—close-cropped, with a long black cloak, and a long vest having a linen collar, or 'turn-over'; while the women merely differed from others by omitting ribbons to their caps. At their meetings, in the olden days, the men wore high-crowned hats, and the women 'cuerpo-hoods' (1693).

The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1662, as is well known, subjected all sections of Christian "Independence" to severe, and most unmerited suffering. Its effects may be judged superficially by the fact that it caused some two thousand clergy to leave the Church. The Act of Toleration in 1689 in turn brought them relief, and in Painswick they were permitted to meet for prayer at the Court-House in that year. We do not, however, learn any detail regarding the 'Congregational Independents' here until 1705, or just two hundred years ago. At that time, we find them to have been represented in Painswick by the Rev. Mr Tippetts, since which date they have proved themselves to be a moving force for good. Their chapel occupied the site of the present one in Gloucester Street, which took its place in 1803. The latter was restored in 1892, and it contains a Morris-Burne-Jones stained window. The following is a list of the clergy :

1. Mr Bellows (May, 1902) lies in the new cemetery amid the ancient hills he loved so well. There also lies Sidney Dobell, the Poet, in a truly appropriate grave. He gave Painswick pre-eminence among Gloucestershire beauty-spots.

Leonard Tippetts, 1705-1714.	James Burrell, 1843-1847.
Leonard Edwards, 1714 (?) - 34.	John Dunlop, 1848-1850.
William Adam, 1734-1750.	Thos. Davies, M.A. (Göttingen), 1863-7.
— Morley, 1767.	
— Bedow, 1787-8.	William Rhead, 1853-9.
Cornelius Winter (the Biographer of Whitefield), ¹ 1788-1808. (Portrait here).	Henry Young, 1868-70. Francis Smith, 1871-76. John Aspinall, 1877-1884.
George Garlick, ² 1808-1821.	Samuel Thomas, 1885-1900.
Robert Meek.	Frederick Wm. Brown, 1900.
Elisha Martin, 1830-1843.	

In 1731, the five bells, which constituted the peal in the Parish Church Tower, were re-cast by Abraham Rudhall, at Gloucester, in honour of the coming Coronation of George II., which event was celebrated here with great rejoicings, the Rev. Mr Downes being the Vicar then in residence.

During the previous thirty years, the Dyers of Painswick cloth had undertaken to grow their own woad³ for dyeing, a proceeding which had exercised the minds of many, more especially that of the Vicar in question. In consequence, not a small share of the fields, which formerly had been sown with corn and rape-seed, and which had been tythed for these crops, became appropriated by a plant which can now be found in the county only beside the Severn (it is said) at one spot. The tythes of woad, it was considered, should belong to the Rector or Impropriator in lieu of great tithes. Nevertheless, woad was now grown also upon lands which had been yielding tythe-hay to the Vicar; and this tythe-hay grew on all such mead as had never been ploughed or broken up. This the people knew by the name of Stean (stone) mead.

The difficulties were settled only by a thorough visitation of all the ploughed and unploughed land in the Parish of Painswick,

1. We find him witness to the marriage of Nathaniel Burdock and Elizabeth Winn, 19 May, 1803.

2. Rev. G. Garlick contributed £2 2s. to the fund for the Parish Church Organ in 1813.

3. Woading a cloth was done preparatory to dyeing it black. The importation of Indigo superseded Woad. (Cf. Report 41. App: 1, p. 515 of the Deputy-Keeper of Public Records.

by the Vicar in conjunction with Mr Edmund Wick, the Impropriator (Ap. 10, 1722).

In 1739 (April 11) there arrived, to the great excitement of the town, the famous Methodist preacher, George Whitefield (B.A., Oxford), aged but 25 years, and son of the proprietor of the well-known Bell Inn, at Gloucester.

The Preacher's diary contained the following entries:—

“April 11.—Set out for Painswick, where I preached to a very large congregation from the School House Stairs.”

“April 14.—At three, preached again at Painswick, to double the number I had before.”

“June 29.—In my brother's field (at Gloucester), to a large and affected congregation; then, to above 3,000 people, in the street, at Painswick.”

Parish pulpits were denied him, as a rule. The next evening, Saturday, June 30, “Spent the evening with some Christian friends; lay at Painswick; and preached (at) about ten in the morning to near 2,000 on the Bowling-Green belonging to the George Inn, (at) Stroud.”

It was owing to these incidents that Whitefield found his Biographer at Painswick, namely, in Cornelius Winter, then Nonconformist Minister, and a man of Dutch descent. Whitefield had, in fact, just returned from America. He was ordained deacon June 20, 1736, before he went to America. He was eagerly collecting funds for an Orphanage out there. He died at Newbury Port, near Boston, Massachusetts, Sept. 30, 1770; and must often, in that far off land, have recalled the Cotteswold Villages, familiar to his boyhood, and the scenes of such brilliant early successes in his profession.

The mention of the Bowling-Green at Stroud, recalls the fact that there was, of course, one at Painswick at that period, situated, as it to-day is, behind the newly-rebuilt ‘Falcon’ (1711)—an Inn which had taken its name from the noble bird borne as the Crest of the Jerninghams. There the gentlemen of Painswick were wont to spend afternoons vastly to their health of mind and body.

But the Gloucester Journal of June, 1731, shows that the Falcon owned yet other entertainments, in which Stroud shared friendly competition.—‘Notice is hereby given that on Wednesday,

the 30th of this inst., June, will be fought at the Falcon Inn, in Painswicke, a COCK-MATCH, between the Gentlemen of Painswicke and the Gentlemen of Stroud: they are to produce twenty-four cocks, ten of which they are obliged to fight for two Guineas a battle, and ten Guineas the odd battle.' In those days towns fought one another with cocks, just as to-day they do at cricket. The chief Inn at Stroud was the 'Swan.'

At this time the Lord of the Manor found it needful to threaten with prosecution anyone found obstructing the collection of the Toll at Painswick, and all those who refused to pay it.

Altogether, this year of Coronation seems to have been a merry one at Painswick. On March the first, being the Queen's birthday, the Ringers greatly distinguished themselves by ringing, within 3 hours 36 minutes, a whole peal of Triples, consisting of 5040 changes, to the great satisfaction of the auditors, not only townsmen, but strangers, and those that were judges of the Art, of which there were several present. They began at 10 a.m. and finished at 1.36 p.m.

On June 26, 1732, Sports were held upon the Hill, and races of all kinds were run, some by persons tied up in sack-bags:—"as the contributors shall direct, no less than six to start." "The same day" (says the advertisement) "a very good Holland Shift will be run for by six young women." It may have been upon the occasion of the death of George II. that the yew trees were planted in the Churchyard. We believe them to have been grown locally at Niblett's Nursery (1722) at Haynes Green, where was "the chief part of John Gardner's estate, the rest backward towards the Nursery Ground." But they may have been seeded from the great yew of the Lovedays in Yew Tree House Garden. In 1796 a reward was offered for the discovery of anyone cutting them.

In reference to Rudhall, it is of interest that the bells re-cast by his firm should have rung for his son's wedding. On June 2, 1770, was married to Sarah Packer, by license of the Bishop, Abraham Rudhall, in Painswick Church. That he resided here not a little, is seen by the fact that when Mary, daughter of Daniel Packer, Clothier, of Painswick, married (in 1782), Nathaniel





TOMB (Inscription Decayed)



TOMBS OF JOHN AND RICHARD POOLE

Winchcombe, of Frampton, Abraham Rudhall signed the Register as prime witness. This bridegroom presently assumed the ancient name and Arms of Clifford, and died October 31, 1801, leaving Henry Clifford, of Frampton, his heir.

Let us glance again at the inhabitants of these middle days of the XVIII. century. The Rev. John Wiltshire was Vicar from 1737-62, and lived at the same old house, the home of former Vicars, called 'Ludloes,' in Vicarage Lane. During his ministration, Painswick twice suffered severely from small-pox (1741 and 1756-8). This scourge seems to have been chronic here throughout the century. The patients were nursed in the house of S. Winn, at Washbrook. The physician was Dr J. C. Jenner.

Mr Rowden lived (1742) in a new-built house, perhaps that at the bottom of Bisley Street.

The Court-House was occupied by Mr Nathaniel Adams (1722-40) and with it he owned Dry Knapps and two lower grounds at the bottom, 'next Mr Hawkins' mill pond.' Herings Farm, until 1733, belonged to John Adey, but the property then passed to Charles Hyett, who served the office of Reeve of the Manor in 1736, and now built Painswick House. John, William, and Edward Palling henceforward fulfilled this responsible office more frequently than any other tenants. Their father, Edward Palling, son of John, lived at Brookhouse in 1701. On the death of Mr Adams, Edward became occupier of Court-House. William Lane, Esq., held land in Washwell, and the Capels and Barretts were firmly established along the Wick Street at the Grove,¹ and at Painsfield. William Little had 'Whether-Close.' Castle Hale, in 1750, was occupied by Louis Prior, Esq., who resided there until 1780, when it passed to William Baylis, in whose family it remained until 1835, when Mr Baker, an architect, re-built the front and planted the avenue. Olivers belonged, 1745, to Nicholas Webb. There were still but few free-holders (under twenty) in the Manor. One of these was the Rev. Philip Shepherd, son of Samuel, and Lord of the Manor of Minchinhampton, where they lived in the large house next the Church. The Sheep-House was lived in and restored by Mr John Palling.

In 1740-41, a South Aisle¹ was added to the Church, and it was decided to re-roof it with tiles instead of lead. In 1765 (March 25), the Church was damaged by lightning, which struck the belfry door, knocked a few stones out of place, and made the bells resound. The sexton's son was winding the clock at the moment, and he had a narrow escape. But as we find marriages taking place in the Church within three days of the occurrence, it may be concluded that the rest of the structure escaped damage.

The following year was one of great distress for Painswick and Stroud, and indeed all through the county, owing to the dearness of corn. Rioters had to be dispersed at Paganhill by the magistrates, and certain of them were taken, tried, and executed at Gloucester and Cowley; Shepscombe gallows being decayed and out of use. A Relief Committee sat at Stroud, at the George Inn. On the other hand, there were great rejoicings at the repeal of the Cyder-tax, and this was celebrated with illuminations.

Ten years later we obtain a glance at a bright summer. The Lodge-Steward writes (Aug. 3, 1776) to his master, Sir William Jerningham, at Cossey, Co. Norfolk: "We have had a catching time for the Hay till within a few days past, the weather is now excessive Hott. We hope for a good Harvest, being a very good crop of corn on the ground, especially Barley, and such a crop of fruit of all sorts was never remembered. Syder has been offered for 10s. per hogshead, a hundred gallon to each hogshead, so we may expect to see much drunkenness amongst the lower sort of People." "P.S. It is needless for me to say anything about our late Election, as you know the return was made against us."

The Courts of the Manor (as also Petty Sessions) were then held in the Chantry Chapel of the Church; later, in the Falcon Inn. In 1785 the Steward was John Colborne, and in this year, owing to the frequent scourging with small-pox, it was resolved by the Overseers of the Parish to order a general inoculation.

1. It was carried upon four columns and held a gallery. It was entered at both ends as well as by a south porch. The organ was situated in a gallery under the Tower, likewise on the wall of which was the Vestry. The present Chancel contained pews.

At this period, George III. and his Queen were sometimes tempted to drive up to Cranham and Painswick from the village of Cheltenham. On the authority of the account of an interesting entry in the Diary of Thomas Gardner, under the year 1788, related by Right Hon. Sir John Dorington, Bt., is adduced the following :

“George III., his Queen, and some of his children, visited Cranham or the neighbourhood in July, 1788. A very aged woman, who did not know who her visitors were, came from her cottage to the carriage door and presented the old gentleman and his lady with a dish of bright red fragrant Woodland strawberries. The old gentleman graciously accepted the welcome present. The dish was quickly cleared of its simple luxury. The old woman stood by for her dish, and curtsied most respectfully and politely when it was returned. The old woman imagined it was the Squire and his family come to live at the great house. As the old woman held out her hand to receive the empty dish, the gentleman said in the most polite and affectionate manner, ‘I am very much obliged to you for your great kindness.’ ‘You be mortal welcome,’ replied the old woman, ‘but I don’t know who ye be—the Squire I spose?’ ‘No, my good woman, I have left my picture on the dish.’”

“The carriage drove back towards Cheltenham, and the woman returned to her cottage. When she put her empty dish upon her cottage table, she saw a ‘golden guinea’ glittering on the plate. ‘I thought he said he had put his pic’tur on the dish. Well, I never know’d such a thing. This be a pretty pic’tur.’ I cannot pretend to give her exact words. I may have copied them, and they may be preserved in my chaotic collection. I have given the shadow if not the substance of the dialogue. His picture or his portrait was on the coin. The old woman was subsequently astonished to find that she had seen ‘The King, good old Varmer George.’ The expression, ‘The King’s picture’ was frequently used in my boyhood. An aged gentleman said to me : twenty years ago, whenever I went to public dinners, friends often said, ‘Weight, how is it that waiters pay you more attention than they do us?’ ‘It is plain enough. I al’us show ’um the King’s pic’tur.’” The Diary gave the name, &c., of the old lady who had ‘The King’s Pic’tur.’

At Ebbworth, the sub-manor and farm had passed now from the Fletcher family (which had it from the Raleghs of Edgworth through the Wood family, of Brookthorpe), into the hands of Stephen Cooke, Esq., of Abenhall and Leigh, in the Forest of Dene. His son and heir, Thomas Cooke, of the Middle Temple, almost re-built the house, "as a convenient Mansion-house, in which to reside," in 1722. He possessed several portions of land besides, in Painswick. His sister, Anne Cooke, resided with him at Ebbworth. The house he altered was in part Tudor, and in part, Jacobean, small features of which can be made out with a little scrutiny. He was succeeded at Ebbworth by Robert Ball, Esq., who left in 1766.

At about the same period, or but little earlier, were built, probably by the same architect, the present front of Castle Godwin¹ and Dover House,—the latter, probably, for a Loveday.

In 1794 we may read in Watsons's Gazetteer: "Painswick has markets on Tuesdays: Fairs on Sept. 19 and on Whit-Tuesday. Special Sheep Markets on April 1-3 and the Tuesdays before the feast of St James and All Saints."

At a vestry meeting in Feb., 1796, Mr Bartlett made an offer to furnish tools, instruct and employ for seven years in the Common Workhouse or in any other suitable place provided by the Parish, all the women and children paupers, who are capable, in the branch of the Pin-trade² called Heading. The number was limited to forty. The Parish and Mr Bartlett entered into an agreement. This appears to be the origin of the Pin-trade in Painswick. In the same year a half-guinea reward was offered for information as to any person guilty of defacing any tomb in the Churchyard.

The Pallings left the Court-House towards 1800; and in 1820 Richard Pullen, Esq., of London, resided there, having done so for many years. During alterations made in 1904, in

1. The House was not called Castle Godwin until the first years of the XIX. century, when the castellated apside was added, probably by Mr John George. The property had been always hitherto known as 'Paradise.' The pretty house-front at Castle Godwin was made probably for Mr William Townsend in 1750. The 'Strawberry-Hill' Gothic windows are of a later date (c. 1790).

2. Pin-making had, in like manner, been introduced in a time of crisis to Gloucester, by John Tilsley, in 1626.



TOMB OF JOHN MOSELEY

St Peter's Chapel, a brass plate inscribed to his memory, and dated 1826, was found there. The House became tenanted by the Caruthers Family; after which tenancy it was turned into a School for Girls, and finally it passed into the tenure (under the ownership of Mr Wathen), of the late Uriah Davis (a well-known antiquarian here) who kept there a high-class school for boys.

The Baptist Church of Painswick was built by Wesleyan Methodists in 1806, a date which is not properly included in the scope of this work, and it was used as a Baptist Church only since 1831, under the Rev. W. Hewitt. In 1803 Sir William Jerningham was induced to part with the old Manor to Mr Pitt (of Pittville, Cheltenham), through whom it went to Mr Thomas Croome. At the sale, however, Mr Edward Jerningham bought in the Manor-Lodge, with its home-farm and 360 acres; all which he retained until 1831. (Sept. 16). The Auction-Sheet then describes it as "an ancient mansion of quadrangular Form, with a Court in the Centre." It thus resembled the New Inn at Gloucester, only that it was built of stone more than of timber. It was free from Great Tithes, and the Land-tax was redeemed. With it went 22 acres of woodland, of which eighteen acres were included in Longridge. It had been let for £1,000 a year, and it had been customary to pay £4 per vicarial tithes, with a Land-tax in tithes of £1 12s. 7d. Holywell Wood is instanced as measuring 1a. 2r. 31p. and the Lawn, as extensive arable Land.

Mention of the house occurs in a diary of Lady Bedingfield, a daughter of Sir William Jerningham, Bt., in 1819:—"We arrived at Bath, having slept at Petty France, we made a long day's journey of it from Cheltenham, because we stopped to see the Roman Villas (sic) lately discovered on Sir R. Hicks' Estate (Witcombe) on the road to Painswick, and walked down to the Manor House (*i.e.*, Lodge Farm), which my brother Edward bought with the Farm round it when my father sold the estate. It has been little altered, bears great marks of antiquity, but never was a grand building. I met in Painswick Churchyard the most boldly discontented man I ever conversed with, a cobbler, ripe for rebellion, levelling, &c., but he did justice to my father's benevolence. 'He was kind to the poor, nor like the rest of your

great ones.' The ground of this old man's discontent appeared to be the persuasion that the clergyman of the place had cheated his wife of a legacy. He was looking over his hedge into the Churchyard, which made me ask him if he was the Clerk? He answered: 'Not he, nor did he know anything of the Church, nor did he want anything.'"

And now it is time to finish with this imperfect fragment of Local Story. And, as we commenced it on a wintry afternoon upon the moorland rudge, let us close it, at a different point of beauty and interest, on a summer morning, while the clear fresh N.W. wind is driving silvery cloud-hosts over the washed blue sky toward Bisley and Rodborough. Beneath us, in the middle ground of the picture, extends southward the woodland Edge, around from the Beeches above Sponebed and its farms, in a long shaded green line, boldly relieved against the dim and distant Forest of Dene; the latter, misted over with the grayer air of the Severn Valley. Far beyond that, can be dimly descried the bold wedge of the Black Mountain, where Hugh de Laci was likewise lord paramount, and under the shadow of which he founded the older Llantony, to which he gave the Advowson of Painswick. And there, much nearer, stands May Hill, and further N.W. stretch the Alban-like Malvern Hills, crowned with their camps whose possessors once menaced those of the many camps near at hand to us on this side. But we remind ourselves that the shouts of the warriors and the songs of the bards are heard no more. As Ossian would say, there is no blood upon the grass of the hills. Their ridges no longer resound with battle. The darker rolling woodlands are no longer the hiding-place of the wolf, the felon, and the spy. Painted Goidhals, fair and large-statured Brythons, Gallo-Roman legions and their native auxiliaries, fiercer Teutons, stalwart Danes and their kindred Normans, all have vanished, even as these fair rushing clouds will do, leaving the landscape to the kestrel, the wheatear, and the golden bunting, the little kings of the air, and free-tenants of this Manor.



THE CHURCH, PAINSWICK

APPENDIX

CALENDAR OF CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

RICHARD II. TO ELIZABETH.

Page lxxvj. William, Lord Berkeley v. Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury. Copy printed of Bill, Answer and Replication. Five folio pages. Mention of the Manor of Wotton and of the Countess's son, Lord Lyle, and John, late Viscount Lislez. Temp. Edward iiij.

(Note in Calendar :) These proceedings form but a small part of the litigations which, for a long series of years, were carried on between the noble families of Berkeley and Talbot, and which produced quarrels frequently attended with the most outrageous riots and bloodshed on both sides. These controversies began soon after the decease of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who died in the fifth year of the reign of King Henry the 5th, leaving an only child, Elizabeth, married to Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whereupon part of the lands legally descended to this Earl, in right of his wife, and the castle and barony of Berkeley, with several manors, etc., to James, nephew to Thomas the last baron, under an entail made by Thomas, his great grandfather. See Smith's "History of the Berkeley Family," and Dugdale, volume i., pp. 362-367.

Page 385. Temp. Elizabeth. G. g. 14, No. 16. Raffe Gyll and Jane, his wife, late wife of George Symons, deceased, and William, the son of said George and Jane, v. Brice Barkley and John Watershippe. Claims under a settlement on marriage. Land in the parish of Wotton-under-Edge, late the estate of James Barkley, Esq., deceased, father of plaintiff Jane, and by him settled, on her marriage with Geo. Symons.

Volume ij., page xxix. Edmond, Duke of Somerset, Alianor, his wife, John, Earl of Shrewsbury, Margaret, his wife, and George Nevill, Lord Latymer, and Elizabeth, his wife, v. William Payn. For the recovery of evidences respecting the Manor of Wotton-under-Edge in the County of Gloucester. Bill printed. Temp. Henry vj.

Index of Chancery Proceedings. Series 2, page 249. Bundle 14, No. 17. Lady Lysle, widow, v. [James Bassett]. Painswick and Moreton Valence, manors of; Ebley [Epney], Horsley, Stanley-Pontlarge, Stroud-End, Shepcombe, Edge and Edgeworth (fragment). Date, 1558-1579.

PATENT ROLL.

21, RICHARD II., PART 3, MEMBRANE 18.

PRO PRIORE DE LLANTHON'.—Rex Omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali et pro eo quod dilecti nobis in Christo Prior et Conuentus de Llanthony iuxta Gloucestriam literas nostras patentes per quas eis tenebamur in Centum marcis ab eis ad opus nostrum nuper mutuatis nobis in Cancellaria nostra restituerunt cancellandas concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eisdem Priori et Conuentui quod ipsi vicarias ecclesiarum sancti Audoeni Gloucestrie ac Payneswyk et Prestebury Wygorniensis diocesis que quidem vicarie in toto ad viginti, et duas marcas videlicet dicta vicaria sancti Audoeni ad quinque marcas prefata vicaria de Payneswyk ad decem marcas sex solidos et octo denarios, et predicta vicaria de Prestebury ad sex marcas sex solidos et octo denarios taxantur vt accepimus et quorum quidem ecclesiarum prefati Prior et Conuentus persone existunt et easdem ecclesias in proprios vsus tenent eisdem personalibus et prioratui suo predicto vnire annectere et incorporare et easdem vicarias sic vnitas annexas et incorporatas in proprios vsus tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Iusticiariorum, Escaetorum, Vicecomitum aut aliorum ballivorum sui Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante. In cuius, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vj. die Maii (A.D. 1398) per ipsum Regem nunciante Duce Surreie.

In return for a Loan of 100 marks, the King (through the Duke of Surrey), at Westminster gives leave to the Prior and Convent of Llantony at Gloucester, to incorporate the three vicarages of St Owen at Gloucester, and Painswick, and Prestbury (which are taxed respectively at 5 marks, and 10 marks, 6s. and 8d.), to hold them to their own use, in perpetuity.

Cf. p. 22, Hist. Church of S. Mary, at Painswick.

SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{808}$.

1626.—2 Charles j. April 4. Assessment of the second Subsidy granted 1 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

PAINSWICK: LANDES.

Edwardus Tocknell, generosus	...	...	in terris	...	ij li.	...	o 8 o
Thomas Lovedaye	...	...	in terris	...	ij li.	...	o 8 o
Samuell Hoson (=Hobson. See $\frac{116}{808}$)	...	...	in terris	...	j li.	...	o 4 o
Johannes Osborne de Segrems	...	...	in terris	...	j li.	...	o 4 o
Johannes Banknette	...	...	in terris	...	j li.	...	o 4 o
Johannes Osborne de Lonckredge	...	...	in terris	...	j li.	...	o 4 o
Heres Ricardi Deane	...	...	in terris	...	j li.	...	o 4 o
Ricardus Gardner de Combowse	...	...	in terris	...	ij li.	...	o 8 o

Jacobus Tayler et Johannes Forte ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	o 4 o
Samuell Seaman, Armiger ...	...	in terris ...	v li. ...	1 o o
Ricardus Packer ...	...	in terris ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
GOODES.				
Edmundus Fletcher ...	...	in bonis ...	v li. ...	o 13 4
Thomas Webbe ...	...	in bonis ...	v li. ...	o 13 4
Johanna Bishoppe, vidua ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Daniell Pincke... ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Willelmus Mayoe ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Willelmus Acson, clericus ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Robertus Rogers ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Thomas Tayler ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Thomas Clissould ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Thomas Blisse ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Johannes Watkins ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Willelmus Osborne ...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li. ...	o 10 o
Johannes Russell ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Johannes Kinge ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Ricardus Gardiner ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Thomas Castle ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Willelmus Blisse ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Johannes Winchcombe ...	...	in bonis ...	iii li. ...	o 8 o
Willelmus Leigh, generosus ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Willelmus Mayle ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Thomas Wyne... ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Thomas Horrup ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Henricus Mayoe ...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	o 8 o
Summa ...			xij li. xvjs. viij d.	

SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{523}$

1641.—17 Charles i. April 5. Assessment of the first two Subsidies granted November 3, 16 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

PAINSWICK.

Edwardus Tocknell, generosus ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Thomas Loveday ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Thomas Davis ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Ricardus Smith ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Margeria Packer ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Thomas Packer ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Thomas Gardiner de Combshouse ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Thomas Kinne ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Johannes Banknett ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.
Anthonius Gardiner ...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viij s.

Alicia Taylor et Willelmus Reeve ...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Henricus Webbe	in terris ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Robertus Hillman	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Blisse de Brownsgreene ...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Walterus Pearce et Joane Osborne...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Johannes Liggon, generosus ...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Webbe... ..	in bonis ...	v li. ...	xxvj s. viij d.
Henricus Fletcher	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Willelmus Osborne	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Bishopp	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Gardiner de Shepscomb ...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Willelmus Acson, clericus	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Georgius Fletcher	in bonis ...	iiij li. ...	xxj s. iiij d.
Willelmus Barnes	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Blisse de well... ..	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Egidius Feild, generosus	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Rodway	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Anthonius Poole	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Willelmus Griffin	in bonis ...	iiij li. ...	xxj s. iiij d.
Thomas Clissold	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Winchcomb, senior ...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Egidius Watkins	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Kinge	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Horrupp	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Ricardus Gardiner	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Robertus Cooke	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Castell	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Robertus Rogers	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Henricus Mayo	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Winne, junior... ..	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Summa			xxvi li. iiis

SUBSIDY ROLL $\frac{116}{524}$.

1641.—17 Charles j. May 8. Assessment of the last two of four subsidies granted November 3, 16 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

PAY[NSWIC]KE.

Edwardus Tocknell, generosus ...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Loveday	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Davis	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Richardus Smith	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Margeria Packer, vidua	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Packer	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Gardner de Combe[hous]	in terris] ...	j li. ...	viijs.

Thomas Kynne ...	...	...	in [terris] ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Johannes Banknett ...	...	...	in [terris] ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Henricus Webbe ...	...	...	in terris ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Alicia Taylor ...	...	...	[in terris] ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Robertus Hillman ...	...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Blisse de Browns Greene ...	...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Johannes Ligon, generosus ...	...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Joane Osborne, vidua ...	...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Anthonius Gardner ...	...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Thomas Webbe... ...	...	...	in bonis ...	vj li. ...	xxxij s.
Henricus Fletcher ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Willelmus Osborne ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Bishopp ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Walker ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
¹ Willelmus Acon, clericus ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Willelmus Barnes ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Georgius Fletcher ...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li. ...	xxj s. iiij d.
Thomas Bliss de Well... ...	...	...	in bonis ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Willelmus Feild ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Winne, junior ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Rodway ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Antonius Poole ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Clissold ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Willelmus Griffin ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Whiteing ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Gidius Watkins ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Johannes Kinge ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Horrupp ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Gidius Harding ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Robertus Cooke... ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Thomas Castell ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Robertus Rogers ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
Henricus Mayo ...	...	...	in bonis ...	ij li. ...	xvj s.
² Johannes Trye, generosus ...	...	...	in bonis ...	v li. ...	xxvj s. viij d.
Thomas Taylor ...	...	...	in terris ...	j li. ...	viijs.
Summa					97 li. £xxviii 8s. od.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL, $\frac{11}{526}$.

1641.—17 Charles j. November 22. Assessment of the last two of six subsidies granted 3 November, 16 Charles j.

HUNDREDUM DE BISLEY.

PAYNSWICKE.

Johannes Trye generosus ...	...	...	in bonis ...	v li. ...	j li. vjs. viij d.
Thomas Webbe ...	...	...	in bonis ...	vj li. ...	j li. xij s.

1. Vicar of Painswick.

2. Husband of Mrs Seaman, for Court-House.

Georgius Fletcher	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	li. j s. iiij d.
Henricus Mayoe	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Henricus Webbe	...	...	...	in terris ...	ij li.	...	xvj s.
Thomas Davies	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Margeria Packer vidua	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Ricardus Smithe	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Packer	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Gardiner de Combe howse	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Kynn	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Johannes Banknott	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Alicia Taylor et Willelmus Reeve	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Henricus Fletcher	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Willelmus Osborne	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Thomas Bischopp	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Henricus Gardner de le greene howse	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Johannes Gardner et Walterus Pearce	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Willelmus Ackson clericus	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Willelmus Wantinge	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Willelmus Barnes	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Blisse de le well	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Taylor de le mill	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Egidius Field	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Edmundus Clementes	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Wynne, junior	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Anthonius Poole	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Thomas Clissold	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Willelmus Griffine	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Johannes Winchcombe, senior	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Egidius Watkins	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Robertus Hillman	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Thomas Blisse de Brownes greene	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Johannes Kinge de le Hill	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Thomas Horrapp	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Ricardus Gardner	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Robertus Cooke	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Thomas Castle	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Robertus Rogers	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Vidua Osborne et Vidua Burdocke	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Johannes Ligon, generosus	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Johannes Jordan, junior, et Johannes Jordan, senior	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Edwardus Toknell, generosus	...	...	...	in terris ...	j li.	...	viiij s.
Johannes Rodwaie	...	...	...	in bonis ...	iiij li.	...	xvj s.
Summa	...	...	...	...	...	xxviii li. os.	od.

LAY SUBSIDY ROLL, $\frac{116}{844}$. [A.D. 1672].

We, the Minister of the Parish of ¹Painswick, together with the Church-wardens and overseers of the ¹poore of the said Parish, do hereby certifie unto his Majesties Justices of the Peace for the said County¹ That we do believe, that the respective Houses wherein the Persons here under-named do Inhabit, are not of greater value than twenty shillings per Annum, upon the full improved Rent; And that neither the Person so inhabiting, nor any other using the same Messuages hath, useth, or occupieth any Lands or Tenements of their own, or others, of the yearly value of twenty shillings per Annum; Nor hath any Lands or Tenements, Goods or Chattels, of the value of ten Pounds in their own possession, or in the possession of any other in trust for them; And that the said Houses have not above two Chimneys, Fire-hearths, and Stoves in them respectively. Witness our Hands this 3¹ day of June, 1672.¹

SPOONBED TITHING.

HENRY KNOWLES	DAN HASELTON
JOHN MATHEWS	JOHN HILMAN
WIDD DENTON	THO TAYLOR
JOHN GARDNER	WM TAYLOR
WIDD COOKE	JAMES CHURCH
DAN KITSON	JAMES HILMAN
DAN TWINING	RICH HILMAN

SHEEPSCOMBE TITHING.

STEPH TOWNSEND	JOHN MILLERD
WIDD EDWARDS	JOHN GIBBINS
JOHN CASTELL	WM WOOD
JOHN BURDOCK	HENRY KNOWLES
DAN MILLERD	JOHN WHELER
THO HOBBS	THO CASTELL
THO WHITING	ANNE POOLE

EDGE TITHING.

ROBT POWELL	WM HOLIDAY
JOHN OSBORNE	GILES HALLING
WM KINGE	HENRY HOLIDAY
EDW WILLIAMS	RICH HADNUTT
JAMES GRANSOME	RICH BENTON
THO HOODE	WIDD MERRETT
RICH STEPHENS	THO JONES
DAN WRENN	ROBT MOTLEY
WIDD GARDNER	JOHN TWINING
JOHN COOKE	JAMES BLANCH
ROBT DUCKLE	HENRY WHEELER
HENRY RIDLER	JOHN HOLDER
WM SHORT	RICH PAGE
MARGT LOWE	STEP PAGE
JOHN ASHMEAD	ELIZ COOKE
MARY HOLIDAY	HENRY WOOD
JAMES BAYLEY	HENRY BRYAN
EDW WATKINS	

STROUD-END TITHING.

WIDD CLISSOLL	HENRY EAGLES
WM JONES	STEPH WATKINS
JAMES ELLIS	THO HILMAN
RICH BLAKENY	THO WOOD
WIDD WRENN	THO MERRETT

²We Allow of this Certificate containing 73 Names.²

GAB: LOWE	GEORGE DORWOOD, Clerk	} tithingmen.
THO SMYTHE	STEPHEN GARDENER	
	JOHN SIDE	

[Endorsed :—] Painswick.

NOTE.—The first eighteen lines of Sheet 1, are in print, except the five words marked in this copy ¹——¹, the word “County” and the numbers “3,” “1672,” also here marked ¹. The eight words on Sheet 3 marked ²——² are in print except the number “73.”

A LIST OF PURCHASES.

[Circa. 7, 1440].

Item to de la Haye ij ti. stekys of wollen Clothe the price ...	xd.
Item delyvered to olde elvryge (? Elvira) wyfe of Churydone as mech wollen clothe as commeth iij s. and j d. to be payed at Mydsomer nex commyng	
Item delyvered to Watkyng Croydy wyff Thomas Sparow suerte as a scherte and an apryn clothe the price ...	xvj d.
Item delyvered to Harry Dudhryge a cade of sproote the price i s. and xxxx <i>li</i> . of Reysynnyys the price of them iij s. and iiij d.	v s. iiij d.
Item delyveryd to John Morers half a decen of Wyke yeyrne the price	xv d.
Item to Willyam Baker servaunt to John Barnard ij. shurtes price	ij s. iij d.
Item to the Smyth at Alvyngate ij. yardes <i>di</i> . quarter of Redde clothe price the yard v s.	xj s. iiij d.
Item to Gregory of Wyttecombe for j <i>li</i> . of blewe threed ...	xiiij d.
Item to Sir Richard Baker ij. stykkes j. quarter of Blakke fustyan Item j. yard Canwas j. stykke and iij. quarter lynynge	ij s. x d.
Item to Elnore Tonnyssend for <i>di</i> elle holand	vj d.
Item to Pase is wiff	xij d.
Item to Sir Thomas Lomys iij. yardis <i>di</i> . grene cloth price the yard vj s. viij d. Summa	xxiiij s. iiij d.

Item to Studys wyfe yn lynyn cloth	ij s. ij d. ob.
Item to Thomas Wynon For wollen cloth	iiij s.
Item to John Mors For wex	vij s.
Item to William Ermyn For buckeram and lynyn cloth ...	vij s.
Item <i>di.</i> yard Bokeram	v d.
Item to Willyam Marchall For a gowne cloth the price ...	x s. wheroff
ther is ij s. to payng	
Item to the same William For <i>j lib.</i> hempe	iiij d.
Item to Walter Berowe iiij. quarters saten and j. sette of sipres	v s. viij d.
Item to the taylour before Andrewe Bye for j. shurte ...	xiiij d.
Item Alson Adams remeynyth unpayde for j. sette ...	v d.
Item Margeri Morgan for j apron	ix d.
Item to Henry Dudbrygge on Ester Evyn for Cesyll ij s.	
Item for ij. brode yardes blanket xx d. Summa ...	iiij s. viij d.
Johannes Mors for <i>di</i> dosen Wex iiij s. vj d. suerte William Wallewen	iiij s. vj d.

VICARS OF PAINSWICK.¹

- A.D. 1086. WYKE HAD ITS PRIEST. [Domesday Survey].
 1156-90. [Sometime within these years]. 'ROGER THE
 PRIEST.'
 1282. GODFREY —
 1283. JAMES DE PAYNESWYKE.
 1295. JOHN KEYS.
 1297. JOHN DE ASTON.
 1374-5. JOHN BORGEYS: Sub-Deacon at Payneswike.
 Chaplain at Stroud, 1400.²
 1382. JOHN BUCKE.
 1384. GEOFFREY LUTTERWORTH. [Acolyte at Painswick:
 Walter Bray].
 SIMON PACKER.
 1402. JOHN BUCKE. [Perpetual Vicar].
 1410?-1426. JOHN NORTON. "
 1426. JOHN LAUNDER. "
 1429. JOHN FARTHYNGALE [Capellanus].

1. Advowson belonged to the Canons of Llantony Secunda at Gloucester until 1539. Consequently, the great tythe had been theirs, the small tythe their Vicar's.

2. Summoned for taking Hares and Rabbits. (Ct. R. Portfolio 175, n. 9, m. 1).

1489. ROBERT MYLL. [Church rebuilt].
- 1522-39. PATRICK CORBETT AND WILLIAM CORBETT
[Chantry-Priest].
1539. SAMUEL DAVYS.
- 1548-54. JOHN WILLIAMS, LL.D.
- 1554-58. RICHARD^s CHEYNEY, B.D. [Bishop of Gloucester,
1561].
- 1558-64. LAURENCE GASE.
- 1564-73. WALTER JONES.
1573. ANTHONY HIGGINS.
- 1573 (Nov.) ARTHUR MASSINGER. [The same name as the
dramatic poet's father, who died in 1606. There
were Tablets to him and his son on the outside
of the Church.—*Rudder*].
1578. MAURICE PEARSE.
1584. { JOHN BULLINGHAM, D.D. [Bishop of Bristol and
Gloucester.
JAMES THOMAS.
1594. ROGER GARROULD.
- 1599 (June 2). FRANCIS YATE. (Curate: WILLIAM ACSON).
- 1622-41. WILLIAM ACSON (16th June). RICHARD CAPEL
(Curate).
- 1642-44. THOMAS WILD.
- 1644-86. GEORGE DORWOOD.
- 1685-6-1702. SAMUEL ROGERS.
- 1702-37. JOHN DOWNES. Assistant: REV. PHILLIP SHEP-
HERD (Reeve of Painswick Manor, 1739).
- 1737 (May 25). JOHN WILTSHEERE. Curate: REV. THOMAS
RAWLINS, 1740.
- 1762-94. JOHN MOSELEY. REV. — PITT, Curate.
- 1795-1823. JOHN FEARON.
- 1823-56. ROBERT STRONG. REV. CHARLES NEVILLE, Curate.
- 1856-68. JOHN ARTHUR BIDDLE.
- 1868-76. HON. PERCY C. WILLOUGHBY.
- 1876-85. HERBERT MCCREA.
- 1885-90. WILLIAM HERBERT SEDDON.
- 1890-97. WILLIAM SELLER GUEST-WILLIAMS.
- 1897- WILLIAM HERBERT SEDDON.

FIELD, STREET, AND WOOD NAMES

(p = Personal Name)

(1) EDGE

CUDHILL	CHERRY HILL	BUTTGREEN
STOCKLEY-WAY	COLLETS p	CHURCH FIELD
HILLFIELD	THE FOLLY	BROAD RIDDINGS
SPOONBED.—	LITTLE NOKE	VERNEY GROUND
SPONBEDDE	OSLEY	BLAKEWELL
HOLCOMBE	HILLHOUSE	DOREYS p
SCANTY	COOKS p	THE NURSERY
WHINTLE	COLLINS p	HAINES GREEN p
EDGE	PENNY CROFT	MOOR VILLA
HUDDIKNOLE.—	COLWELL CLOSE	SYTCES
[Huddinal]	THE STYRTS, <i>i.e.</i> ,	WASHBROOK
HORSEPOOLS	THE STREETS	COOMBE
DRUIPS. 1	BARCROFT	EDGEMOOR
THE MOORS	IFOLD	TICKNELLS p
PACKERS p	HERRINGS p	FOXPEN HOLE, WOOD
EDGMUNDSTONE p	GREAT NODE	BENTCROFT
BAKERS CLOSE p	TOWN ACRE	THE PARLOUR

(2) SHEPSCOMBE

CROSS HAYS	QUEENS WOOD	DEER-LEAPS
PUMP-WOOD	LORDS WOOD	EBWORTH
WIN MEAD	LONGRIDGE	THE LODGE
HELLRIDGE	BROOKLANDS	HAZELHANGER
POPPETS	BAREPINES	PILL-HOUSE
TRADWELL MOORS	SKIPPETTS p	STATTINGER
TOWN WOOD	FLOCKMILL	DETCOMBE
FOSTONS ASH p	JACKS GREEN	BUNNAGE
BRIANS p	CLISSOLDS p	CULVERWELL
ROWN HAM	{ HITHER-FIELD	CRUMP FIELD
RUSSELL p	{ FAR-FIELD	WOLLEY
SHADWELL	HOLYWELL	BRAZE HILL
CUPHOUSE	BUTLERS GROVE p	BULLS CROSS p
ELLERNE-HILL.—	THE GRANGE	THE DELL
[Elder-tree]	TITHING-MAN'S ACRE	THE BLADDERS
COCKSHOOT	SALTRIDGE	HIGHGROVE
	SALTBOX	

(3) SLAD

SLAD	THE FRITH	BATCOMBE
VATCH. (For Batch)	COMBEBANK	JUNIPER HILL
KNAPP FARM	WADES <i>p</i>	FOLLY LANE
ABBOTS FARM	PEGHOUSE	WICKRIDGE HILL
(S. Peter's Glouc.)	UPLANDS	TILLOCK FIELD
PINE POINT	BROWNS HILL	{ DUTCH COOMBE
YOKE HOUSE	& GREEN <i>p</i>	{ DODDSCOMBE <i>p</i>
ROMAN TUMP	THE CULLS [Culvers]	QUILLET PIECE
CUSTOM SCRUBS	THE GROVE	GREEN HOUSE
NOTTINGHAM SCRUBS	WELL FARM	WOODVILLE
FENNELS WOOD <i>p</i>	WICK STREET	THE GUNS
PROUD GROVE	STEPPING-STONE	BROOKHOUSE
STEAN BRIDGE		

(4) PARADISE

TOCKNELLS <i>p</i>	WHITCOMB	EDDELS, OR
TINSONS LANES <i>p</i>	WELL GROVE	IDELSBURY <i>p</i>
OLIVERS <i>p</i>	LOCKS <i>p</i>	PRINKENASH (Sc.)
THE PEN	JAKES MEAD <i>p</i>	MADAMS WOOD
DAMSELS <i>p</i>	ROUND GROVE	POPES WOOD <i>p</i>
LYNCOMBE	BEARDS GROVE <i>p</i>	CATBRAIN QUARRY
PARADISE	SPLASH MEADOW	CLATTER GROVE
SANDPITTS	PERRY FIELD	WASHWELL
GODWYN <i>p</i>	HILMANS <i>p</i>	THE PARK
WODHAMMEAD	ADAM & EVE INN	BORTONS MILL <i>p</i>
RACKLEAZE	KIMSBURY <i>p</i>	

(5) PAINSWICK AND STROUD

BLADEMEAD	VICARAGE LANE	BROADHAM
WHITEWALL (Hall)	BARNET STREET	DRYKNAPPS
STAMAGES <i>p</i>	LUDLOES <i>i.e.</i> , THE	SHEEPHOUSE
THE ELL	VERLANDS (the old	SEAGRIMS <i>p</i>
SYMONS <i>p</i>	Vicarage)	JENKYN'S FARM <i>p</i>
REEDS MILL <i>p</i>	THE CROSS	LAMMAS LANE
TIBBYWELL OR	KNAPP LANE	KINGS MILL
TOWY-WELL	NEW STREET	THE EAGLE
FRIDAY STREET	HAM	HALF-WAY HOUSE
ST MARY STREET	HAMBUTTS	MANDEVILLES <i>p</i>
BISLEY STREET	LULLINGWELL	WRAGG CASTLE
HIGH STREET	LULLINGWORTH	CALLOWELL

THE PLAIN	RUSCOMBE	STRATFORD
ROCKMILL	STOKEN HILL	BEECH ASH GREEN
PITCHCOMBE	CATWOOD	[Beeches]
STOCKEND	RANDWICK	MERRY WALKS
RUDGE	WHITESHILL	LANDSDOWN
THE FUNK	BREAD STREET	BOWBRIDGE
CLIFFWELL	LUDLOW GREEN	STROUD—BADBROOK
HALLIDAYS WOOD <i>p</i>	HAMMONDS <i>p</i>	CALDRICH STREET
BROADBARROW GREEN	SALMONS <i>p</i>	

(6) CRANHAM

(From the Tithe-Map)

UPPER AND LOWER	CRAYFIELD	HUNGERFIELD
BODNAMs	BROAD MOOR	LADLECOMB (Fish-
SALRIDGE WOOD	ASHCROFT	ponds included)
NUTWELLS <i>p</i>	BERRINGTONS <i>p</i>	DEAD MAN'S PIECE
LONG DOWN	HOCKELLS <i>p</i>	ELSELEY PIECE
HAW FIELD	LANGNETT	& COPSE
DANLEY GROVE	BIRDLIP LEAZE	HORSELEY
PUCKS CLOSE	THE REDDINGS	SIMMONDS PIECE <i>p</i>
HEWERS HEAD	BROADRIDGE	THE GRATANS
WHIRLEY	MASONS PIECE	THE TYNING
OVERTOWN OR	HOWDENS PIECE	GLIDEWELL
UPPER-TOWN	FAR FIELD	THE HALES (Pasture)
LARKS CLOSE	BENHALL ORCHARD	STONEY CLOSE
HITCHINGS <i>p</i>	THE COMBS	ASHLERS KNOP <i>p</i>
THE CRIB	COLLY HILL	COLD BATH
TOWNSENDS <i>p</i>	WITHY BED	HILL COT
DUNLEY FIELD	BUCKS HEAD PIECE	CLIMPER WELL WOOD
WORTLEY PIECE	CROW FIELD	LAWLESS DOWNS
FRANKISS'S PIECE <i>p</i>	DEEP WHITLEY	THE BARROW (Arable)
MANS COURT	MADDOCKS PATCH <i>p</i>	FOSTONS HILL <i>p</i>
BUCKHOLT	BATCH	HAREGROVE

1838.—PRICES			s.	d.	
WHEAT	...	7	0	$\frac{1}{4}$	} per Bushel.
OATS	...	2	0		
BARLEY	...	3	11	$\frac{1}{2}$	

Payed £162 to the owner of the Tithes, in lieu of them.

JOSEPH PITT, ESQ., LORD OF THE MANOR

REV. WILL: MOORE, VICAR

A FEW TERMS IN COMMON USE AT PAINSWICK

BIRDS

SCREECH = SWIFT.	VELDWER = FIELDFARE.
YACKLE } or EEKLE }	MUM-RUFFIN = A TOMTIT-TIT.
	SUGG & ISUG = HEDGE-
MUFF-ROBIN = GOLDEN-CREST.	SPARROW (A.S.)
LENNARD = LINNET.	STRETCH = MISSEL-THRUSH

WERRET = A WART.	ACKERN = ACORN.	AYFER = HEIFER.
KIPE = A BUSHEL	HOLT = AN EARTH.	OONT = A MOLE
(70 lbs. of Potatoes).		(Welsh : MWNT).
MAY-JOLT = A SEE-SAW.	REREMOUSE = A BAT.	
URCHIN = HEDGEHOG (Fr. Hérisson.)		

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